

ASPECTS OF THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF NOUN MODIFICATION BY ADJECTIVES

IN HAUSA

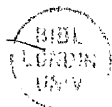
By

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Linguistics.

S.O.A.S.

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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the different properties of Hausa attributive adjectives and other noun modifiers when they occur before or after the nouns they modify. It also attempts to account for the fact that the relevant ordering rules for such modifiers apply in pre-position but not in post-position.

The study is divided into seven chapters.

Chapter One discusses the scope as well as the general aims of the study and the sources of the data examined.

Chapter Two examines the question of the status of adjectives as a separate lexical category in Hausa in view of the disagreement or uncertainty regarding this question in the literature, and its implications for our purpose in this thesis.

Chapter Three deals with the experimental techniques adopted and some of the results obtained when we sought to determine whether other native speakers are also conscious of significant differences in the semantic interpretation of adjectives in pre- and post-position.

In Chapter Four the formal and semantic properties of pre-position and post-position are examined. It is claimed that the difference

in their formal properties has as its semantic correlate the different associations which adjectives in the two positions have; pre-position is associated with more explicit modification than post-position. So the two positions are analysed as paradigmatically opposed.

Chapter Five deals with the question of adjective ordering. It is argued that adjective ordering is conditioned more by semantic than by any other factors. Evidence in support of this position is provided by the responses of our informants in the Preference and Completion Tests.

In Chapter Six other (non-adjectival) noun modifiers are discussed and a syntactic typology to cover them suggested.

In conclusion it is shown in Chapter Seven that our approach is valid not only with respect to Adjectives but also to other problems of Hausa.

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CHAPTER ONE:INTRODUCTION1.1 General Aims of the Study

This study attempts to investigate noun modification by attributive adjectives and similar modifiers in Hausa, a Chadic language in the Afro-Asiatic family of languages. Its main aim is to make a significant contribution to the study of Hausa linguistics by providing a rigorous description of the syntax and semantics of attributive adjectives and similar noun modifiers.

The study, though primarily descriptive, nevertheless has theoretical significance in that it concerns itself with the relations of syntax and semantics and draws attention to the fact that in a "tone" language, like Hausa, it is well nigh impossible to describe the one without taking the other into account, that in fact such languages work by consistently correlating the two aspects. It therefore suggests that the problems of such languages cannot be usefully resolved without correlating their syntactic and semantic properties, and without paying particular attention to the contexts in which they are used.

1.2 Source of the data

The data examined in this study is taken from various sources: from my own usage, and from the usage of other native speakers, as observed in their speech or writing, from radio broadcasts and the

local press. The examples taken from these sources were then presented to groups of non-linguist native speakers to elicit their judgements, especially to determine which sequences they prefer and which ones they judge to be similar or dissimilar. In this way we were able not only to check our own usage against the usage of others but also to ensure that our own intuitions are corroborated by the judgements of other native speakers.

There is therefore no doubt in our mind that the examples used in this study are "good" Hausa. In our experience, "standard" Hausa is not confined to any one area, but is a form of usage that has emerged, is emerging, through continuous contact between the various dialect speakers, and is what one finds commonly used in the urban centres and on the radio and Gaskiya Ta fi Kwabo, the well-known standard Hausa newspaper.

Though born and bred in Zaria I have spent many years in other urban centres like Kano and Kaduna where "standard" Hausa is spoken, and at one time actually did some Hausa broadcasting on NBC Kaduna, which, like the BBC Hausa Service, has a good reputation for the high quality of its Hausa.

1.3 The Scope of the Study

We are motivated by and seek to account for the following problems of Hausa:

- (I) the tendency for adjectives in pre-position and in post-position to have a qualitatively different semantic

relationship with their head nouns, regardless of the fact that their grammatical relationship with the head noun remains constant.

- (II) the fact that in stacking adjectives prenominally one has to observe certain ordering rules which are, however, not applicable postnominally.

For instance, we observe that examples (1) and (2) below do not actually mean the same: ¹

- (1) yaarinyaàtaa bakaa
 girl - my black
 = my girl (who is incidentally black (= dark-skinned))

- (2) baka-r yaarinyaàta?
 black girl - my
 = my black girl

These examples have different implications, even though the head/attribute relation between yaarinyaà and bakaa is the same in both cases. Example (1) illustrates the normal position of adjectival modifiers in Hausa. In this example the emphasis is on the speaker's relationship with the yaarinyaà referred to; the postmodifying adjective merely provides secondary information about her. In example (2), on the other hand, bakaa is restrictive as it directly aids identification: the yaarinyaà may be linguistically identified only through the modification provided by bakaa. This kind of

dichotomy between pre-position and post-position seems to exist in all ^{Such} cases in Hausa and should be accounted for.

Examples (3-7) illustrate the second problem.

(3) dooguwa-r baka-r yaarinyàà
tall black girl
= "a tall, black girl"

(4) *baka-r dooguwa-r yaarinyàà
black tall girl
= "a tall, black girl"

(5) kyàkkyàawa-r baka-r yaarinyàà
beautiful black girl
= "a beautiful black girl"

(6) *baka-r kyàkkyàawa-r yaarinyàà
black beautiful girl
= "a beautiful black girl"

(7) yaarinyàà dooguwa, kyàkkyàawaa, bakaa...
="a girl who is { black, tall, beautiful..
 { tall, beautiful, black...

As far as we are aware no serious attempt has yet been made either to relate problems (I) and (II), or to explain why prenominal adjectives alone should be subject to order restrictions.² Our aim in this thesis is to examine these two problems in some detail and to suggest suitable solutions to both of them.

As a prerequisite, however, we will have to re-examine (in chapter two) the whole question of the status of the "adjective" as a lexical category in Hausa. This is partly because of the division among Hausaists regarding this question. So we will start by countering the arguments of those Hausaists who claim that Hausa has no true adjectives. Otherwise the rest of the discussion in this thesis may be said to have no basis in the grammar of Hausa. On the contrary we will show that not only do adjectives exist as an independent lexical category in Hausa, but also that they are quite numerous.

Our intuitions about the difference in the semantic interpretation of adjectives in pre- and post-position are confirmed by the results of our elicitation experiments which we discuss in chapter three. Our findings in these experiments lead us to assume in the next two chapters, chapters four and five, that differences in meaning in Hausa adjective usage as in other languages, are correlated with their extant formal differences. Consequently, we argue that the most economical, and natural, way to handle the problems of this thesis is to take the formal and semantic properties of the adjectives together. In chapter four the formal and semantic properties are stated and an attempt is made to correlate them. Attention is focussed on the tendency for prenominal adjectives to be more precise than postnominal ones. The conditions for adjective preposing are also stated.

In chapter five we take up the question of adjective ordering. It is shown through the results of the Completion Test that in

pre-position adjectives are ordered according to what semantic class they belong to, whereas in post-position they are not. It is also shown that whereas one can stack as many adjectives as one likes in post-position because of its open-endedness, this is not possible in pre-position, presumably because of its semantic associations. These differences in the properties of adjectives in pre- and post-position lead us to suggest that they are a paradigmatically opposed set.

In Chapter Six we briefly examine some (non-adjectival) modifiers which cropped up in our discussion (but which do not fall within the scope of this thesis) and suggest a syntactic typology to cover them. Finally, we end the discussion by summarising our findings in Chapter Seven.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

- 1) Note that throughout the thesis, vowel length is indicated by doubling the vowel; a grave accent over a vowel indicates low tone, and a circumflex indicates falling tone. High tones are unmarked.
- 2) In this thesis we will not be concerned with non-adjectival noun modifiers such as relative clauses, determiners, Mai + N, dan/yar + N, etc., phrases, numerals and quantifiers, etc. But as some of them have cropped up in our discussion we shall briefly examine their role and distribution in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER TWO: THE CATEGORY ADJECTIVE IN HAUSA

2.1. Unlike students of languages like English, French, Latin, etc., we cannot assume that Adjectives are a "well-known" category in Hausa and just go on to tackle the question of their syntax and semantics. That is to say, we cannot start our analysis of the problems of Hausa adjectives "in the middle" because their distinctive features as a word-class have not, to my knowledge, been clearly stated in existing studies of Hausa. We will therefore have to start by presenting arguments for distinguishing Adjectives from other Hausa word-classes, particularly from Nouns, with which they have sometimes been lumped together. This is necessary for our purpose in this thesis because of the division among Hausaists regarding the status of Hausa Adjectives as an independent lexical category. Some treat them as an independent category (e.g. Howeidy, 1953, Galadanci, 1969); others regard them as a sub-class of Nouns (Parsons 1960, 1961, 1963; Kraft and Kraft, 1973, Kraft and Kirk-Greene, 1974). Abraham's position is unclear in this regard (Abraham, 1959) and Hodge (1945) ^{rightly} takes him to task for his ambivalence.

2.2. We start by considering the arguments put forward by those linguists who favour treating Adjectives as a sub-class of Nouns.

Their main argument is that morphologically there is no clear difference between them. For supporting evidence, consider the following paradigms.¹

"A"	Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Plural
1	taàkàlmii (shoe)	-	taakalmaà (shoes)
2	-	riigaa (gown)	riigunaà (gowns)
3	yaaròo (boy)	-	yàaraa (children)
4	-	yaarinyaa	yàaraa (children)
5	kàree	-	karnùkaa (dogs)
6	-	kàryaa	karnùkaa (dogs)
7	sarkii (king)	-	sàraakunaa (kings)
8	manòomii (farmer)	-	manòomaa (farmers)
9	mùtùm (man)	mùtumiyyaa (woman)	mutàanee (people)
10	maròokii (town-crier)	màrookiyyaa (town-crier)	maròokaa (town criers)
11	mawaakii (singer)	màwaakiyyaa (singer)	mawaakaa (singers)
12	ma'aikàcii (worker)	ma'aikaciyyaa (worker)	ma'aikataa (workers)
13	matalaùcii (poor)	matalauciyyaa (poor)	matalautaa (poor)
14	matsiyaacii (insufferable)	matsiyaaciyyaa (insufferable)	matsiyaataa (insufferable)
15	gàjeeree (short)	gàjeeraa (short)	gàjeeruu (short)
16	gundumeemee (massive)	gundumeemiyaa (massive)	gundumaa-gundumaa (massive)
17	bàllallee (broken)	bàllalliyyaa (broken)	bàllalluu (broken)
18	farii (white)	faraa (white)	faraaree (white)
19	saaboo (new)	saabuwaa (new)	sàabàbbii (new)
20	kaatoo (huge)	kaatuwaa (huge)	kàttai (huge)
21	(jaa, (red))	(jaa, (red))	jaajaayee (red)
22	(bàbba, (big))	(bàbba, (big))	mànyaa, 'big'
23	(kyàkkyawaa (beautiful))	(kyàkkyawaa, (beautiful))	kyaawawaa (beautiful)
24	(mùmmuunaa, ugly)	(mùmmuunaa, ugly)	muunàanaa (ugly)
	etc.	etc.	etc.

As shown in the table most the class A items have two forms, whereas most the class B items have three forms. Nevertheless, among the former there are items with three forms (e.g. 9 - 12), whilst among the latter there are some with only two forms (e.g. 21 - 24).

Notice also that the feminine forms of most of the words end in -aa. In fact the -a/-aa ending has been widely regarded by Hausaists as a marker of feminine words. But as items (21-24) clearly demonstrate there are words which end in -a/-aa yet are not feminine. Such words are not marked for gender, only for number. Their singular forms are placed in parenthesis under the masculine and feminine singular categories to demonstrate their neutrality in regard to gender: hence we can have .

1. ja-n wandoo (red pair of trousers), in which jaa is masculine
2. ja-r riigaa (red gown) in which jaa is feminine
3. babba-n gidaa (big house) in which babba is masculine.
4. babbar riigaa (big gown) in which babba is feminine.
5. kyakkyaawa-n yaaròo (handsome boy) in which kyakkyaawaa is masculine
6. kyakkyaawa-r maataa (beautiful woman) in which kyakkyaawaa is feminine
7. mummuuna-n kàree (ugly dog) in which mummuunaa is masculine.
8. mummuuna-r kàryaa (ugly bitch) in which mummuunaa is feminine.

The gender of such items is clearly determined by the following word.

As with class B, there are class A items like likita (doctor), faada (palace), etc., whose gender is not clear, and others like gidaa

which end in -a/-aa and yet are masculine. Compare (9-12) and (13-14).

9. Faada-r-ta? taa ruushèe

Palace-of-her she collapse

= Her palace has collapsed, in which faada is feminine.

10. Faada-n Katsina yaa tsuufa?

Palace-of Katsina he old

= "Katsina palace is old", in which faada is masculine.

11. Likita yaa zoo

doctor he come

= "The doctor has come", in which likita is masculine.

12. Likita taa zoo

doctor she come

= "The doctor has come", in which likita is feminine.

13. gida-n maataanaa nee

house-of wife-my is

= "It's my wife's house", in which gidaa is masculine.

14. *gida-r maataanaa nee

house-of wife-my is

= It's my wife's house".

It is clear from these examples and the preceding discussion that the two sets of items represented as "class A" and "class B" in the table cannot be adequately distinguished simply by considering their

endings or the number of places they occupy in the paradigms above. Hodge is therefore right to claim that "there is no morphologic difference" between them in isolation, and that "both have the same type of feminine and plural affixes". But we do not share his view as to the implication of this. Specifically, we do not think this fact should preclude us from trying to establish their differences at other levels, particularly the syntactic level. We shall in fact argue that their morphological properties are far less important than their syntactic ones (2.3). The difference in their syntactic function is marked formally in the grammar and so makes it desirable, if not necessary, to distinguish between them as lexical categories in Hausa.

One other argument that is commonly used to show that class B items are "nounlike" and to support grouping them together with class A is that the former may sometimes serve as the head of a noun phrase (c.f. Kraft and Kirk-Greene 1974, 129). For instance, you can have,

15. Jaa ya sawòò

red he buy

He bought the red (one)

16. Manyaa na kée soo

big I (+ ASP) like

I like the big (ones)

17. Doogúwaa ya sáyaa

tall/long he buy

He bought the tall/long (one)

18. Ka daukoo mən fara-r
 You fetch me white-the
 Fetch me the white (one)
 etc.

This ability of such items to serve as head of a noun phrase does not seem to me to be significant, however, for other word-classes can similarly serve as head, e.g. verbs:

19. a Yaa yi shigaa mǎi kyau
 he Aux dress well
 = 'He dressed well', where shigaa = "verb"
- b Shigar_{sa} taa yi kyau
 dress his she Aux well
 = 'His dressing was fine', where shigaa = "Noun"
20. a Yaa shiga daakii
 he enter room
 = 'He entered the room', where shiga = "verb"
- b Yaa fita daakii
 he leave room
 He left the room, where fita = "verb"
- c Fitaa dà shiga -r- sà taa yi yawaa
 exit and entry -of-his she Aux excess
 = 'His comings and goings are too much',
 where fitaa and shiga serve as "Noun subject" of the sentence.

d Kaa cika shigaa da fitaa

You excede entry and exit

= 'You are a busybody', where shigaa and fitaa serve as
"noun object".

Shiga' and fita' are normally analysed as "verbs" as they have a "basic" form ending in -a on high tone (= Grade III), and a "derived" form ending in -ee, -ar, -oo, -u (for shiga) or in -ee, -ar, and -oo (for fita) (see Parsons 1960 for details). But as examples (19,b) and (20,b-d) demonstrate they can also function like nouns. In these examples they have the morphology and syntax of nouns: shiga' in (19,b) carries the linking -r and serves as subject, and both words serve as subject in (20,c) and as object in (20,d). In other words, they too can "stand alone". This would not, however, justify listing the two words twice, as "noun" and as "verb", in the lexicon or dictionary. This will only complicate rather than simplify the analysis. It is simpler and perhaps more profitable to list them as a sub-class of verbs capable of serving like nouns.

The same condition seems to apply when words from other classes function like others, for instance, when class A items function as modifiers of the head word:

22. kaaka-n bana' = 'dry season of this year'

gida-n goonaa = farm house

salla-r saafè = morning prayer.

aure-n sadakaà = 'gift marriage'

In these sequences bana, goonaa, saafè and sadakaà may be said to have an 'adjectival' function since they help to specify or restrict

the reference of kaakaa, gidaa, sallàh and auree respectively.
Should we then analyse them as both "noun" and "adjective"?²

To come back to the question we are specifically concerned with in this part of the discussion. Even though it is true that class B items may serve as head of a Noun phrase, this is not common. A careful study of several standard written texts like Magana Jari Ce and Gaskiya Ta fi Kwato revealed no examples of such usage. I suspect it is more a feature of speech than of writing, and even in speech it is usually conditioned by the discourse. That is, the utterance Mánya-n sun fi kyau ("The big (ones are better)") will not make sense unless it is said in a specific context where the referent of mánya is predetermined.
That is, it ^{usually} occurs in contexts like the following:

23. Àkwai tufaafii iri-iri à kanti-n,
there-is clothes various in shop-the

mányaa dà kanaanàa, faraaree dà jaajaayee. Àmma mánya-n
big and small white and red but big-the
sun fi kyau.

they surpass beauty.

= "There are various types of clothes in the shop: big and small, white and red". But the big ones are better."

24. Wata raanà sarkii ya taarà jamà'arsà mazaa dà màtaa,
some day king he gather people-his male and female
yàaraa dà mánya. Ya cee wà maza-n su kulaa dà
young and adult. He say to male-the they care with
noomaa. Maata-n kumà ya gargàdee su dà su
farming. Female-the also he advise-them with they

kulaà dà auree.

care with marriage.

= 'One day the king gathered his subjects, male and female, young and old. He told the male persons present to take farming seriously. The female among them he advised to honour their marriage vows.'

c.f. 25. Àkwai tufaafii iri-iri à kantin.

*M[^]anyan sun fi kyau.

26. Wata raanà sarkii ya taarà jama'arsà.

*Ya cee wà maza-n su kulaà dà noomaa.

27. Wata raanà sarkii ya taarà jama'arsà.

* Maata-n kumà ya gargadeesu dà su kulaà dà auree.

28. Àkwai tufaafii iri-iri a kantin.

*Àmma m[^]anya-n sun fi kyau.

In both (23) and (24) we can easily tell what words m[^]anya-n, maza-n and maata-n are related to: m[^]anya-n refers to tufaafii in (23), whilst maza-n and maata-n refer to jama'arsà in (24). In (25-8), however, we cannot - hence their unacceptability. These examples therefore demonstrate that m[^]anyaa, mazaà, maataa, and similar words, may occur unaccompanied by their heads only if such heads are specified in a previous sentence. Thus even though the sentences in which they appear alone are acceptable in the second sentences of (23) and (24), it is still arguable whether their function in such sentences is any different from what it is in the preceding sentences. Even if it is, it does not seem to be sufficient

as an argument for putting them in the same class, as tufaafii and jama'arsa in the same sentences.

2.3 Adjectives and Nouns in Hausa as in other languages are involved in a modifier-head relationship. So the distinction between them may best be established in terms of this relationship.

As a prerequisite we shall begin by stating what we mean by 'Modifier' and 'Head'. For this purpose consider the following sets of sentences:

Set I

29. sarkii yaa zoo
 chief he come
 +Asp.
 = The chief has arrived.
30. (Tsooho-n) sarkii yaa zoo
 Old chief he come
 +Asp.
 = The old chief has arrived.
31. (Babba-r) maata-r taa haihu
 big wife-the she birth
 +Asp.
 = The senior wife had a baby.
32. (Babba-n) yaaro-n yaa zoo
 big boy-the he come
 +Asp.
 = The big/senior boy has arrived.

33. (Mánya-n) yaara-n sun zoo
 big boys-the they come
 +Asp.
 = The big/senior boys have arrived.

Set II

34. Karee nee
 dog is
 = It is a dog
35. Karyaa cee
 bitch is
 = It is a bitch
36. (Babba-r) karyaa cee
 big bitch is
 = It is a big bitch
37. (Babba-n) karee nee
 big dog is
 = It is a big dog
38. (Mánya-n) karnukaa nee
 big dogs are
 = They are big dogs.
39. (Mánya-n) mutaanee nee
 big people are
 = They are important people.

The varied shapes of the verbal prefix³ (yaa, taa, sun, etc.) in the Set I sentences and of the copula (nee/cee) in Set II sentences are determined by the gender and number of the preceding words (underlined). In examples (29), (30) and (32), yaa is selected because sarkii is masculine singular. In example (31), maàtaa is feminine singular, so taa is selected as the appropriate verbal prefix. In example (33), on the other hand, yaàraa is plural (and common); so sun is selected as the appropriate verbal prefix.

Similarly in Set II the shape of the copula verb varies with the gender or number of the words that precede it. As shown in (34), and (37-39), nee correlates with both kàree, which is masculine singular, and karnu-kaa and mutaànee which are plural and common. In example (36), on the other hand, cee rather than nee is chosen as the appropriate form of the copula verb because kàryaa is feminine singular.

Such class A items as sarkii, maàtaa, yaaròo, yaàraa, kàree, kàryaa, karnùkaa, which serve as the subject of the sentence and also control agreement with the verb phrase in Sets I and II sentences we shall call "Nouns" in this thesis. Notice that these same words determine concord with the words that precede and follow them in the sentence. They may thus be regarded as the "Head" words of the constructions.

The items in parenthesis have no effect on the concord with the verb phrase. They may in fact be omitted without affecting the grammaticality and /or acceptability of the sentences in which they occur. They will for this reason be regarded as optional elements, and as having a subordinate or 'modifying' role in the sentences.

They represent the class of items that we will call 'Adjectives' in this thesis.⁴ Semantically, their function is to specify or narrow down the range of reference of the head nouns they co-occur with. For instance, in (30 - 33) and (36 - 39), the Adjectives may be said to specify the objects being referred to. (See following chapters for detailed discussion).

The distinction between Adjectives as Modifiers and Nouns as Head words is marked formally in Hausa. The system of marking the distinction also helps to distinguish Adjectives from other possible modifiers of nouns. For illustrations of how this is done, compare the following sets of sentences:

40. (i) B`abba-r riigaataa taa tsuufa`
 big gown-my she age
 [+Asp.]

My big gown is old

- (ii) Tsooho-n gida-n-su yaa zub`ee
 old house-theirs it collapse
 [+Asp.]

= their old house has collapsed

- (iii) Kyaawaawa-n muta`anee n`ee
 beautiful people are
 They are beautiful people

- (iv) Muuguwa-r ma`ata-r taa mutu`
 wicked woman-the she die
 [+Asp.]

The wicked woman is dead

- (v) M̀aalaalaaci-n yaarò-n nan yaa zoo
 lazy boy-the that he come
 [+Asp]
 The lazy boy has come
- (vi) Mahaukàciyà-r yaarìnya-n nan taa zoo
 mad girl-the that she come
 [+Asp]
 The mad girl has come
41. (i) Rìiga-r saawaa maataa gaagàree shì
 gown-for wearing (emph.) she beyond him
 [+Asp.]
 He hasn't even a gown to wear
- (ii) Gida-n baabansu yaa zubèe
 house-of father-their it collapse
 [+Asp.]
 Their father's house has collapsed.
- (iii) Mutàane-n birnii sun zoo
 people-of city they come
 [+Asp.]
 The city people have come
- (iv) Maata-r Audu taa batà
 wife-for Andu she disappear
 [+Asp.]
 Audu's wife has disappeared.
- (v) Yaaraen gida-ntà su-naa dà kirkii
 boys-of house-her they have with kindness
 [+Asp.]
 Her houseboys are kind

(vi) Yaarinya-r Isa taa zoo

girl- of Isa she come
+Asp

Isa's girlfriend has come.

Notice that in both sets the junction between the modifier and Head is made by interposing -n/-r. If the Head is masculine singular or plural, -n is used as link; whereas if the Head is feminine singular and ends in -a/-aa, -r is used as link (see Appendix A). Notice also that the position of the link varies with the location of the Modifier. If the Modifier is in pre-position, the link is affixed to the Head. As indicated by the examples, the difference in the distribution of the link is relatable to the difference in the class membership of the items serving as Modifiers. Such a difference may be used as a diagnostic criterion for subclassifying the Modifiers, as well as for further distinguishing adjectives from nouns.

The Modifiers in (40 i-vi) include those items that we have already characterised as 'Adjectives'. They are distinguishable in addition by the fact that, unlike those in Set II (1-6), they are very mobile; that is, they can be moved to post-Head position without affecting their grammatical relationship to the Head:

(Adj - N) → (N-Adj.)

- 42 Bàbba-r riigaataa → riigaataa bàbbaa = my big gown
- 43 Tsooho-n gidansù → gidansù tsoohoo = their old house
- 44 Kyaawàawa-n mutàanee → mutàanee kyaawàawaa = the beautiful people
- 45 Muuguwa-r maàtaa → maàtaa muuguwaa = the wicked woman

- 46 Màlaalaaci-n yaaròo yaaròo màlaalaacii = The lazy boy
- 47 Mahaukàciyà-r yaarinyàà yaarinyàà mahaukàciyaa = The mad girl
- Or
- 48 Màlaalaaci-n yaaròn nàn yaròn nàn màlaalaacii = That lazy boy
- 49 Mahaukàciyà-r yaarinyàn nàn yaarinyàn nàn mahaukàciyaa = That mad
girl.

Notice also that in post-position no link (-n or -r) is interposed between the Head and the Modifier. But where the Modifier is not an adjective a linking (-n/-r) is obligatorily interposed between it and the Head (e.g. (41. i-vi)). So the presence or absence of a link between a postmodifier and its Head may be regarded as a criterion for distinguishing between the two kinds of modifiers exemplified in (41) and (42-49) sequences above. If -n/-r is absent the postmodifier must be an Adjective; if it is present, the postmodifier must be non-Adjective.

The non-Adjectival 'modifiers' of (41, i-vi) are in fact nouns, for they can independently serve as Head in similar constructions, e.g.:

- 50 saa(wa-n) riigâ-r dà ka yi ya baataa tà.
wear-of gown-the which you did it spoil it
= 'Your use of the gown spoilt it.'
- 51 Baaba-n sarkii yaa rasu
father-of chief he die
= 'The chief's father has passed away'

- 52 Birni-n Kanò yanaa da kyau
City-of Kano it has with beauty
[+ Asp]
= Kano city is beautiful

- 53 Audùntà ne ya zoo
 Audu-her is he come
 [+Asp]
 It's her Audu who came

- 54 Gida-n yáaraa yaa cika
house-of children it full
[+Asp]
The children's home is full

- 55 Isa-n L`ar`aba yaa zoo wurink`a
Isa-of Laraba he come place-your
[+Asp]
Isa, the one associated with Laraba, has come to see you.

When nouns serve as modifiers of other nouns they are distinguished by their tendency to be immobile. That is, they are restricted to post-Head position, unlike Adjectives which, as we have seen, can occupy pre-Head and post-Head positions. Consequently the noun modifiers of (41. 1-vi) and (50-55) may not be moved to pre-Head position without affecting their grammatical relationship to the Head. For instance, we cannot move such modifiers to derive (56-60) below:-

- 56 * (Saàwaa riigá-r) taa gaagàree shì
 ()
 (Saàwa-r riigaa)

'He hasn't even a gown to wear'

The distinction between Nouns and Adjectives is reinforced by the fact that the two classes behave differently toward other word-classes, especially Adverbs. For instance, Adjectives may be postmodified by such Adverbial Intensifiers ⁶ as sòosai, ainùn and kwarai (dà gàske) (all meaning something like "very (much)", "extremely", "indeed", "absolutely") in equational sentences, whereas Nouns cannot. Compare 61-64 sequences below: -

61 a. Riigà-r faraa cèe kwarai dà gàske

Gown-the white is very / extremely

'The gown is extremely white' ⁷

b. (dakiikii) (kwarai)
 () ()
 Audù (hatsàbiibii) nèe (ainùn)
 () ()
 (shàkiyyii) (sòosai)

 (very) (dull)
 Audù is () ()
 (extremely) (uncontrollable)
 () ()
 (absolutely) (shameless)

c. Sarki-n mai hàkurii nèe sòosai/kwarai/ainun

'The chief (in question) is very / extremely / truly patient'.

62 a. Shii muugù-m mùtùm nèe kwarai

He wicked man is very

'He is a very wicked man'.

b. Audù hatsàbiibi-n yaaròò nèe ainùn

Audu uncontrollable boy is extremely

'Audu is an extremely uncontrollable boy'.

c. A'i mahaukaciya-m maataa cee sòosai

A'i mad woman is very

'A'i is a very mad woman'.

d. Shii àzzaalumi-n sarkii nee kwarai dà gàske

He unjust king/chief utterly

'He is an utterly unjust king/chief'.

63 a. Naa ga wani mùtùm mai fara'aa kwarai

I see certain man polite very
+Asp

'I saw a very polite man'

b. Tanaa dà daa shàkiyyii ainùn

She with son shameless indeed

+Asp

'She has a son (who is) utterly shameless'

c. Sunaa dà sarkii mai aadalci sòosai

They with king just very
+Asp

'They have a king (who is) very fair/just

64 a. * Riigaataa cee ainùn

Gown-my is extremely

*'It is my extremely gown'

b. * Riigaa cee kwarai dà gàske

Gown is very

* 'It is a very gown'

c. * Shii sarkii nee kwarai da gaske

He king is very

* 'He is a very king / chief'

d. * Audu doogarii nee soosai

Audu guardsman is absolutely

'Audu is absolutely guardsman'

As these sets of examples clearly demonstrate Adjectives allow postmodification by Intensifiers in various positions: predicatively (61), prenominally (62), and postnominally (63). In all these positions the Intensifier affects only the Adjective. That is, it intensifies or heightens the meaning or focus of only the Adjectives or Adjectival phrases in the sentences. It does not apply to the Nouns and other items in the constructions - hence the unacceptability of (64) sequences. It is therefore diagnostic, and may be regarded as an important criterion for deciding whether an item is an adjective or not.

To demonstrate that the Intensifier is related only to the Adjectives in our example sentences we can conduct a simple test: we can delete the Intensifier and leave the Adjective without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence; but we cannot delete the Adjective and leave the Intensifier without rendering the sentence ungrammatical.⁸ Thus we can delete the Intensifiers in (62-3) to produce (65-66), or even delete both Adjective and Intensifier (since they are both optional elements in sentence structure) to produce (67-68) but we cannot delete the Adjective alone lest we produce (69-70) which are ungrammatical:

- 65 a. Shii muugu-m mùtùm nee ∅ = 'He is a wicked man'
- b. Audù hàtsabiibi-n yaaroo nee ∅ = 'Audu is an uncontrollable boy'.
- c. A'i mahaukaciya-m maàtaa cèe ∅ .
'A'i is a mad woman'
- d. Shii àzzaalumi-n sarkii nee ∅ .
'He is an unjust king / chief'
- 66 a. Naa ga wani mùtùm mai fara'aa ∅ .
'I saw a certain polite man'
- b. Tanaà dà daa shàkiyyii ∅ .
She has a shameless son.
- c. Sunaà dà sarkii mai aadàlcii ∅ .
'They have a fair / just king'.
- 67 a. Shii ∅ mùtùm nee ∅ .
'He is a man / human being'.
- b. Audù ∅ yaaròò ne ∅ .
'Audu is a boy'
- c. A'i ∅ maàtaa cèe ∅ .
'A'i is a woman.'
- d. Shii ∅ sarkii nee ∅ .
'He is a king'.
- 68 a. Naa ga wani mùtùm ∅ ∅ .
'I saw a certain man'.

b. Tanaà dà daa ∅ ∅ .

'She has a son'

c. Sunaà dà sarkii ∅ ∅ .

'They have a king'.

c.f. (69-70) which are inadmissible reductions of (65-66)

69 a. *Shii mùtùm nee kwai

*He is a very man

b. *Audù yaaròò nee ainùn

*Audu is an extremely boy

c. *A'i maàtaa cèe sòosai

*A'i is a very woman

d. *Shii sarkii nee kwai dà gaske

*He is a very king.

70 a. *Naa ga wani mùtùm kwai.

*I saw a very man

b. *Tanaà dà daa ainùn

*She has a son (who is) utterly, or

*She has an utterly son

c. *Sunaà dà sarkii sòsai

*They have a king (who is) very, or

*They have a very king.

Examples (67-70) are syntactically identical so the unacceptability of (69-70) must be attributed to the presence of the various intensifiers, to the fact that they cannot co-occur with the rest of the words in the two sentence sets. This seems to lend strong support to our earlier claim that in (61-63) above the Intensifier is related only to the Adjective, which it thus helps to identify uniquely.

The arguments we have presented in favour of distinguishing Adjectives from Nouns may be summarised as follows: -

A. Nouns as a class generally favour 'Head' position in modifier - head constructions. When the Head Noun in such constructions is also the subject of a sentence it always determines concord with the Verb Phrase of that sentence. Thus the Noun controls the shape of its Modifier and the Verb Phrase, and is pivotal in this sense.

B. Adjectives generally act as 'Modifier' in modifier - head constructions and are optional in sentence structure. But whenever they act as 'modifier' they obligatorily correlate with the gender and number of the 'Head', regardless of whether they occur in pre- or post-position. They are in addition formally distinguished from other modifiers of the Head (particularly 'possessive' modifiers) by the fact that they are quite mobile, and can occur in post-Head position without a formal link, -n/-r.

C. Finally, Adjectives are uniquely characterised by their ability to admit postmodification by Adverbial Intensifiers like kwarai

(dà gàske), sòosai and ainùn in all the positions they may occupy in the sentence; whereas Nouns and other categories in the construction do not allow postmodification by such Intensifiers.

These differences in the syntactic properties of the various items in the modifier-head constructions we examined above are significant, and seem to vindicate our assumption of a distinction between Nouns and Adjectives, and between Adjectives and other noun modifiers. Such a distinction is desirable as it helps to avoid the danger of grouping too many words together under the dominance of a single superordinate class. This is what some earlier studies of Hausa word-classes appear to have done. This seems to have resulted from their tendency to attach an undue weight to the morphological characteristics of the words in isolation and to ignore or underemphasize their syntactic and semantic ones. But as Crystal (1966) has warned,

".. one cannot isolate word-classes giving them an identity of their own apart from the grammar. The proper emphasis in establishing or describing them does not allow them to be disassociated from the grammar at all: the concept word-class implies the prior establishment of a grammar, and explicating the word-classes of a language involves explicating its grammar."

More specifically Robins (1969, 124, V) has emphasized that

".. word classes are primarily distinguished by their different syntactic functions ..." and that ".. morphological formations (or more strictly inflectional formations) in languages exhibiting them serve as the markers of syntactic structures and groupings and the relations within and between them."

In Hausa the morphological similarity between Nouns and Adjectives is fortituous in fact. What is crucial is the difference in their syntactic function. As we argued above, Nouns tend to favour Head position in modifier-head constructions, whilst Adjectives usually act as Modifier in such constructions. As gender is inherent in both word-groups, it is predictable that when they co-occur a masculine singular Head Noun should select an Adjectival Modifier that has similar properties, i.e., is masculine singular too. The same applies when the Head Noun is feminine singular or plural. Consequently we do not get sequences like (71-74) in standard Hausa: -

$$71 \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} * \text{mootàa} \\ + \text{ sing.} \\ + \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{N} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{bakii} \\ + \text{ sing.} \\ - \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{Adj.} \end{array} \right] \text{NP}$$

(for mootàa bakaa =
black car

$$72 \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} * \text{baki-n} \\ + \text{ sing.} \\ - \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{Adj.} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{màcè} \\ + \text{ sing.} \\ + \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{N} \end{array} \right] \text{NP}$$

for baka-r màcè
= 'black woman'

$$73 \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} * \text{bakaake-n} \\ - \text{ sing.} \\ + \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{Adj.} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{gidaa} \\ + \text{ sing.} \\ - \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{N} \end{array} \right] \text{NP}$$

for bakaake-n gidàajee
= 'black houses'

$$74 \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} * \text{ba ka-r} \\ + \text{ sing.} \\ + \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{Adj.} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{gidaa} \\ + \text{ sing.} \\ - \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{N} \end{array} \right] \text{NP}$$

for ba ki-n gidaa
= 'black house

Similarly we do not find 75 - 79:

- 75 $\left[\begin{array}{c} *huuluna-r \\ - \text{ sing.} \\ + \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right]_N \left[\begin{array}{c} Audu^7 \\ + \text{ sing.} \\ - \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right]_{NP}$ for huuluna-n Audu
= 'Audu's caps'
- 76 $\left[\begin{array}{c} *Zannuwa-r \\ - \text{ sing.} \\ + \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right]_N \left[\begin{array}{c} Laarai \\ + \text{ sing.} \\ + \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right]_{NP}$ for Zannuwa-n Laarai
= 'Laarai's wrappers'
- 77 $\left[\begin{array}{c} *gida-r \\ + \text{ sing.} \\ - \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right]_N \left[\begin{array}{c} maataa \\ - \text{ sing.} \\ + \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right]_{NP}$ for gida-m maataa
= 'woman's house'
(= brothel)
- 78 $\left[\begin{array}{c} *Laalaatacciya-r \\ + \text{ sing.} \\ + \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right]_{Adj.} \left[\begin{array}{c} yaaroo \\ + \text{ sing.} \\ - \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right]_{NP}$ for laalaataaccèn yaaroo
= 'spoilt boy'
- 79 $\left[\begin{array}{c} *yaarinyaa \\ + \text{ sing.} \\ - \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right]_N \left[\begin{array}{c} kaatoo \\ + \text{ sing.} \\ - \text{ fem.} \end{array} \right]_{Adj. NP}$ for yaarinyaa kaatuwaa
= 'huge girl', etc.

All these sequences are in violation of the relevant selectional rules and are therefore unacceptable.

2.4 Syntactic sub-classes of Adjectives

We mentioned in our discussion of the distinctive properties of Hausa Adjectives above that they are mobile, and can modify the head noun of an utterance both in pre- and post-position, (e.g. (62-63) and (65-66)). This ability applies to a very large number of Adjectives in the language. But there are quite a few items which are adjectives by our criteria and yet are restricted in their distribution. For instance, there are adjectival modifiers like ḍan / 'yar tsiyaa, ḍan / 'yar giyaa, mai fara'aa, mai aadalci, mai hakurii, mai kyau, na'allah, na/ta gari, etc., which cannot, however, premodify the head noun of an utterance. Consequently we do not have: -

80. *ḍan giya-n yaaroo (c.f. yaaroo ḍan giyaa = 'a boy who is drunk')
 *'yar giya-r maataa (c.f. maataa 'yar giyaa = 'a woman who is drunk')
 *mai fara'a-n yaaroo (c.f. yaaroo mai fara'aa = 'a polite boy')
 *mai aadalci-n sarkii (c.f. sarkii mai aadalci = 'a just king')
 *mai hakuri-n daa (c.f. daa mai hakurii = 'a patient son')
 *mai kyau-n gidaa (c.f. gidaa mai kyau = 'a beautiful house')
 *na'allah-h ma'aikaci (c.f. ma'aikaci na'allah = 'an honest /selfless worker')
 *ta-gari-n shaawaraa (c.f. shaawaraa ta-gari = 'sensible advice')
 *na-gari-n haalaayee (c.f. haalaayee na-gari = 'good habits').

These modifiers are in contrast with muuguu (wicked m.)
hàtsàbiibii (restless, uncontrollable, m.), saaboo (new, m.),
bakii (black, m.), shakiyyaa (cheeky, f.), dakiikiyaa (dull, f.),
mahàukàcii (mad, m.), shàhàrarruu (famous, pl.), laàlaàtattuu
(spoilt), naughty, pl.), jaa (red), kaatoo (big, m.), etc. which
can function attributively both in pre- and post-position, e.g.:

81. muugu-m maalamii / maalamii muuguu (wicked teacher)
hàtsàbiibi-n yaarò / yaarò hàtsàbiibii (restless boy)
saabò-n gidaa / gidaa saaboo (a new house)
baki-n wàndoo / wàndoo bakii (a black pair of trousers)
shakiyya-r maàtaa / maàtaa shakiyyaa (a cheeky woman)
dakiikiya-r daalibaa / daalibaa dakiikiyaa (a dull student, f.)
mahàukàci-n direebà / direebà mahàukàcii (a mad driver)
shàhàrarru-n mutaanee / mutaanee shàhàrarruu (famous people)
laàlaàtattu-n 'yaa'yaa / 'yaayaa laàlaàtattuu (spoilt children)
ja-r riigaa / riigaa jaa (a red gown)
kaato-n gidaa / gidaa kaatoo (a big house)
etc.

The modifiers in (80) and (81) can each postmodify the head noun. They differ only in their ability to premodify the head.

In general all those items which can premodify the noun head may also postmodify it, but the reverse is not the case, as (80) clearly demonstrate. Those modifiers which like those in (81), can function attributively in a postnominal as well as in a prenominal position (and which admits intensifiers) will be designated

"CENTRAL ADJECTIVES"; whilst those which are confined to post-nominal position (but which similarly *admits intensifiers* we will regard as "PERIPHERAL ADJECTIVES".

The majority of central adjectives tend to be simple lexical items, whereas most of the peripheral adjectives are compound or complex. But some of the latter are used so regularly that they are now represented as single items in the standard orthography. C.f. the following examples taken from Gaskiyaa Tafi kwabo: -

82. "Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule yace Gwamnatin
Mulkin Soja --- ta yankè shawarà tagari wajen
Kafa Hukumar Binciken Hakkokin Jama'a"

(26/1/76, back page, col. 1.)

= 'Alhaji Y.M. Sule said that the Federal Military Government
had taken the right decision in establishing the Public
Complaints Commission".

83. "Ya ce àmma fà à tuna Hukumarsa ba za tà yarda dà kararraki
nakarya bà."

(Ibid. col. 5.)

= 'He said it should however be remembered that his Commission
will not accept false complaints.

84. (Sarkin Zazzau) ya gargade su dà sù aikata halaye nagari."

(Ibid. cols. 4 + 5).

= 'The emir of Zaria advised them to be of good behaviour.'

Notice, however, that there are a few instances where a peripheral adjective may premodify the head noun, e.g.:

85. Wata 'yar iska-m maataa taa kwaaceè màn kudiinàa.

Certain irresponsible woman she confiscate me money-my.
+Asp.

= 'A certain irresponsible woman confiscated my money'.

86. ɗan-iskà-n yaarò-n nan nèe ya zòo.

irresponsible boy that is he come
+ Asp.

= 'It is that irresponsible boy who has come'

87. Àshee(kai ɗan-iskà-n yaaròo nee)
((kee 'yar-iska-r yaarinyaa cee)) ?

So you irresponsible boy / girl are.

= 'I hadn't realised that you are such an irresponsible (boy).
(girl).

These examples suggest that the central-peripheral distinction is not absolute. It is however, useful as it covers a very large number of Adjectives, and makes the task of accounting for their distribution easier. What sentences (85 - 87) illustrate is the tendency for certain peripheral adjectives to be stereotyped through regular use and to behave like central ones. We have, however, no example of central adjectives losing their ability to premodify the head noun and being confined to postnominal position.

2.4.1. The distinctions we have made between Adjectives and other word-classes, particularly Nouns, and within Adjectives themselves as a class, may be summarised as in Table 2 below. For simplicity and convenience only three of the criteria discussed above will be used here to illustrate their differences (for other relevant criteria see 2.3):

1. Ability to admit postmodification by an Adverbial Intensifier like kwarai (dà gaske), ainùn, sòosai.
2. Ability to function attributively in a prenominal position - that is, it can premodify the head noun of an utterance;
3. Ability to function attributively in a postnominal position - that is, it can postmodify the head noun of an utterance.

In this matrix table the three criteria are set out at the head of the columns. When any of the test items listed on the left of the table satisfies a criterion, a plus sign ("+") is entered in the appropriate cell; when it fails to satisfy the criterion a minus sign ("-") is entered. A query ("?") indicates doubt whether the criterion under which it is entered is satisfied. A query sign accompanied by another symbol e.g. a plus or minus, indicates disagreement or variation in our reactions. The entries are based on my reactions and those of three friends who acted as native informants for this exercise. The entries for

TABLE 2

TEST ITEMS			MEANING	(SYNTACTIC)				
SINGULAR		PLURAL		CRITERIA	WORD-CLASS	SUB-CLASS		
	MASCULINE	FEMININE		3	1	2		
I. 1.	bakii	bakaa	bakàakee	+	+	+	Adjectival	Central
2.	faraii	faraa	faràaree	+	+	+	"	"
3.	jaa	jaa	jaajaayee	+	+	+	"	"
4.	kaatoo	kaatuwaa	kattai	+	+	+	"	"
5.	kàramii	kàramaa	kanaanaa	+	+	+	"	"
6.	doogoo	dooguwa	doogaayee	+	+	+	"	"
7.	kyàkyaawaa	kyàkyaawaa	kyaaawaawaa	+	+	+	"	"
8.	gàjeeree	gàjeeraa	gàjeeruu	+	+	+	"	"
9.	tsoofoo	tsoofuwa	tsòofàffii	+	+	+	"	"
10.	yaarò	yaariiyaa	yaaraa	+	+	+	"	"
11.	muuguu	muuguwaa	muugaayee	+	+	+	"	"
12.	àzzaalumii	àzzaalumaa	àzzaalumai	+	+	+	"	"
13.	mùhimii	mùhimiyaa	muhimmai	+	+	+	"	"
14.	gundumeeme	gundumeemiyaa	gundumaa - gunduma ⁴	+	+	+	"	"
15.	dàndankaa	dàndankaa	dankakuu	+	+	+	"	"
			grubby, filthy	+	+	+	"	"

TABLE 2 (continued)

TEST ITEMS			MEANING				
SINGULAR			PLURAL				
MASCULINE	FEMININE		COMMON				
					CRITERIA	WORD-CLASS	(SYNTACTIC) SUB-CLASS
					3 1 2		
I. 16. shirgeegse	shirgeegiyaa	shirgaa-shirgaa	huge, enormous		+ + +	Adjectival	Central
17. laalàataccee	laalàatacciyaa	laalàatattuu	spoilt, irresponsible		+ + +	"	"
18. bàbba	bàbba	mànyaa	big		+ + +	"	"
19. saaboo	saabùwaa	saabàbbii	new		+ + +	"	"
20. mùmunaana	mùmunaana	mùunaanaa	ugly		+ + +	"	"
21. gaagararree	gaagararriyaa	gaagararruu	uncontrollable		+ + +	"	"
22. tababbee	tabàbbiyaa	tabàbbuu	insane, mad		+ + +	"	"
23. cìkakkee	cìkakkiyaa	cìkakkuu	filled, matured		+ + +	"	"
II. 24. na-gari	ta-gari	nagari	well-behaved		+ + -	"	Peripheral
25. nakirkii	ta-kirkii	màasu kirkii	kind		+ + -	"	"
26. òan giyaa	'yaggiyaa	'yan giyaa	drunk		+ + -	"	"
27. òan iskàa	'ya??iskaa	'yan iskàa	wayward		+ + -	"	"
28. òan tsiyaa	'yats tsiyaa	'yan tsiyaa	quarrelsome		+ + -	"	"
29. marà-kunyaa	marà-kunyaa	marasaa kunyaa	shameless		+ + -	"	"

TABLE 2 (continued)

TEST ITEMS			MEANING		CRITERIA	WORD-CLASS	(SYNTACTIC) SUB-CLASS
SINGULAR	PLURAL						
MASCULINE	FEMININE	COMMON					
III. 45. ma'aikàcìi	?ma'aikàciyaa	ma'aikàtaa	worker(s)	+ +? -?	Borderline		
46. bàtùree	bàtùriyaa	tùuraawaa	European(s)	+ +? -?	"		
47. mawaakii	mawaakiyaa	mawaakaa	singer(s)	+ +? -	"		
48. marookii	marookiyaa	marookaa	beggar(s)	+ +? -	"		
49. gurgun	gurguwaa	guraagu	disabled	+ -? -	"		
50. beebèe	beebiyaa	beebaayee	dumb	+ -? -	"		
51. marà-laafiyaa	marà-laafiyaa	maràsa-laafiyaa	patient(s), sick	+ -? -	"		
52. òan-kaasuwaa	'Ya-kkaasuwaa	'yan-kaasuwaa	trader (s)	+ -? -	"		
53. òan-kamashòo	'ya-k-kamashòo	'yan-kamashòo	commission agents	+ -? -	"		
54. òan-hayaa	'ya-h-hayaa	'yan-hayaa	hiser (s)	+ -? -	"		
55. òan-taksii	'ya-t-taksii	'yan-taksii	'taxi-person(s)'	+ -? -	"		
IV. 56. doogarii	-	doogarai	palace guard(s)	+ - -	Non-Adjectival		
57. sarkii	-	saraakunaa	emir(s)	+ - -	"		
58. masooyii	masooyiyaa	masooyaa	lover(s)	-? - -	"		

TABLE 2 (continued)

TEST ITEMS			MEANING		(SYNTACTIC)		
SINGULAR			PLURAL		CRITERIA	WORD-CLASS	SUB-CLASS
MASCULINE	FEMININE		COMMON		3 1 2		
IV. 59. mamacii	mamaciysaa		mamataa	deceased	-? - -	Non-Adjectival	
60. mai-goorò	mai-goorò		maasu-goorò	kolanut seller(s)	+ - -	"	
61. mai-tumaakii	mai-tumaakii		maasu-tumaakii	'sheep-having'	+ - -	"	
62. mai-jaakai	mai-jaakai		maasu-jaakai	'Donkeys-having'	+ - -	"	
63. mai-maataa	mai-maataa		maasu-maataa	'women-having'	+ - -	"	
64. mai-mootaa	mai-mootaa		maasu-mootaa	'car-having'	+ - -	"	
65. mai-gidaajee	mai-gidaajee		maasu-gidaajee	'houses-having'	+ - -	"	
66. goomà	goomà		goomà	ten	+ - -	"	
etc.	etc.			etc.			

criterion I were made using the equational sentence frame ("X — ne kwarai/ainun/sòsai. ").

As the words listed in the table were chosen at random, it is remarkable how their overall characteristics as revealed by the entries appear to confirm our earlier predictions about the syntactic properties of Hausa adjectives and other related word-classes. A horizontal line is drawn at appropriate places in the table to draw attention to the identical pattern of entries that the four sets of items have. The pattern of entries for set I items would apply to most simple adjectives in Hausa. They are positive for all the criteria posited and represent what we have designated "CENTRAL" adjectives above.

The items under sets II - IV exemplify what we have already called "PERIPHERAL" adjectives. They are only partially positive for our three criteria - specifically, set II items are negative for criterion 2, whereas set IV items are negative for both criterion 2 and criterion 1. Set II items are adjectival despite the restraint on their syntactic distribution - they all satisfy criterion 1. Set IV items are, however, non-adjectival; they satisfy only the third criterion, and mainly comprise nouns or noun phrases that may be used in apposition to other nouns or noun phrases.

Sandwiched between the items that are adjectival and those that are non-adjectival, are what may be described as the "BORDERLINE" categories. These are exemplified by set III items.

The pattern of entries for these items displays a gradience - that is, a graded variation in the degrees of similarity and dissimilarity between them. This is shown by a diagonal line across the entries. The gradient serves a dual purpose in the table. In the first place it represents the approximate boundary between Adjectives and Non-Adjectives. In the second place, it shows how far each of the (set III) items is more or less like an adjective or a noun: the more positive entries it has the more it is like an adjective; the more negative entries it has, on the other hand, the more "noun-like" it is in its characteristics. Such items as ma'aikàcìi, bàtuurée, maròokii and mawàakii are shown to be closer to adjectives in their defining properties than they are to nouns. Gurguu, beebee, marà-laafiyaa, etc., are however, shown to be more like nouns than adjectives. The table thus provides a basis on which we may objectively categorise or sub-categorise the items listed. It therefore makes it unnecessary for us to resort to non-linguistic arguments as Kraft and Kirk-Greene's definition of the Hausa adjective as "a noun which designates basically a person or thing characterised by the particular quality indicated - not merely the quality itself" (p. 129). This "definition" is quite non-grammatical, as it tells us nothing about the grammar of adjectives. In fact, it tells us nothing about their function in a sentence, their relationship to other words, etc. Instead, it gives only a vague idea of what adjectives/nouns (the two are not clearly differentiated) refer to in the external world. Moreover, the information which it provides is very inexplicit. For what exactly is a "thing" and what "thing" is not "characterized

by a particular quality"? The argument is reminiscent of Jespersen's (1965) description of "substantives" and adjectives as complexes of "qualities". But if the quality that a word denotes is all that matters for its specification, then how can we distinguish between kyau and kyakkyaa (beauty v. beautiful, fem.), roowa v. maròowacii (meanness v. mean, masc.), wuyàa v. mawùyaacii (difficulty v. difficult, masc.), etc., or even between sòoyayyàa (love), guduu (running), tsiyaa (quarrel, poverty), kirkij (kindness), etc.? The pairs in the former set seem to be characterised by the same qualities; but not the latter. Nevertheless they all seem to be characterised by some "quality" or other. Are they therefore all nouns designating "persons" or "things"? The "qualities" associated with these words are metaphysical in nature and appear to have nothing to do with their grammatical properties.

Kraft and Kirk-Greene's definition will not for example distinguish the four sets of items in our table, nor will it discriminate adequately between the individual items of each set. So it must be regarded as unhelpful.

In order to satisfactorily handle the problems posed by such words, it is not enough to merely rely on our notion of what 'qualities' they refer to. We must instead use a more objective basis, like our three criteria above, to demonstrate the areas where they are similar and / or dissimilar, as well as how this may be used to determine their class membership. Once we do that we may call them anything we like (see Lyons 1966 and 1969, 317-25, for a discussion of how formal and notional criteria may be jointly used to characterise word classes).

Apart from illustrating some of the basic differences between Nouns and Adjectives the table also reveals some interesting facts about individual adjectives. Among those worth mentioning is the fact that the items that satisfy all three criteria have different morphological derivation. Thus they include items that are sometimes characterized as "participles" or "deverbal nominals" in the literature, e.g.:

<u>Adj.</u>		<u>Verb</u>	
88. g`aag`arree	←	g`aag`araa	(= "to be beyond control")
cikakkee	←	cika	(= "to fill")
tababbee	←	tabaa	(= "to touch")
W`ankakkee	←	wank`ee	(= "to wash")
tuubabbee	←	tuubee	(= "to dismiss")
ginanee	←	gin`aa	(= "to build")
etc.		etc.	

They also include such denominal adjectives as

89. kyak`kyaawaa, derived by reduplicating the nominal base
 kyau (= 'beauty')
- kakkarfaa, derived by reduplicating the nominal base
 karfii (= 'strength')
- kakkauraa, derived by reduplicating the nominal base
 kaurii (= 'fatness')

Derived in the same manner are

<u>Adj.</u>		<u>Noun</u>	
90. m`ummuunaa	←	muunii	(= "ugliness")
k`unkuntaa	←	kuncii	(= "narrowness")
d`andankaa	←	dankii	(= "filth")

Others include

91. mahauk`acii ← haukaa (= "madness")
 matsiyaacii ← tsiyaa (= "aggression, poverty")

both of which are derived by prefixing ma - to the nominal base and then affixing the appropriate ending -cii for masculine singular, -ciyaa for feminine singular, and -taa for plural. The fact that all these types of adjectives satisfy the same criteria demonstrates that what matters as far as their characterization and classification is concerned is their syntactic function not derivation. This suggests that we are justified in regarding the syntactic properties of the adjectives as being more important than their morphological ones.

Among the set that are peripheral, perhaps the most interesting group are the "mai - adjectives". This group is potentially bigger than the "central" one because they can be derived by prefixing mai (or mara-, for negative adjective compounds) to a large number of nouns in the language - hence their preponderance in Set II of Table 1. Note, however, that for such derivands to be truly adjectival (i.e. to be able to satisfy criterion 1, the stem Noun must be (+ ABSTRACT) and (+ STATIVE). Unless this condition is satisfied mai- cannot function in such sequences as an adjective-deriving prefix. The violation of this constraint is what seems to render the other (mai + N) compounds of Set IV non-adjectival.

The nouns used in combination with mai in this set are

(+ CONCRETE), and (-STATIVE). The derivands themselves are rarely used attributively. Rather they are more often used as postmodifiers of the head noun, e.g.:

92. Sani mai-harbi, Zaria = "Sani, the hunter, of Zaria"
93. bindigaà mai-ruwaa = "automatic rifle" (lit. "a gun which rains bullets")
94. jirgin sama, mai saukan angulu = "helicopter" (lit. "aeroplane, which lands like a vulture")
95. Abù, mai neeman na Makka ... = "Abu searching for what to go to Mecca with"
97. Amàlaalà, mai fitsaarii dàgà kwancè = "Amàlaalà, the one who wets his/her bed"

(See chapter six for a more detailed discussion of appositive postmodification with (mai + N) constructions as well as with the less frequent (ɗan/'yar + N) and (na/ta + N) sequences, which, incidentally, seem also to be subject to the same derivational constraints as (mai + N) postmodifiers - cf. set II items 24-31 with set III items 52-55 in Table 2.).

Of particular significance for our purpose in this thesis are the distributional characteristics of the test items as displayed in the table. As can be seen from the entries in cell 3, virtually

all the words can postmodify noun phrases, regardless of whether they are adjectival or non-adjectival. Occurrence in cell 2 is, however, restricted. That is, not all the items may premodify a noun phrase. Those that may do so are in most cases simple lexical items; whereas those that may not are in most cases compound or complex.

Observe further that some of the items which cannot premodify a noun phrase are also doubtful as postmodifiers of same, e.g. sarkii, masooyii, mamacii, in sequence 97.

97. *sarkim mutùm ? *mutùm sarkii = "a chiefly man"
 ? *masooyim mutùm * mutùm masooyii = "a loving man"
 *mamacin namiji ? *namiji mamacii = "a deceased male"

Such items do not satisfy criterion 1 either. So they should be analysed as members of a totally different word-class, possibly as 'Nouns'.

Our approach thus enables us not only to establish the salient properties of Adjectives as a separate word-class in Hausa, but also to isolate other word-classes in contradistinction to them. This suggests that our criteria are valid and objective, that the classes we succeeded in isolating on their basis are similarly valid, for they are well supported by the facts of the language. Given the differences that we have shown to exist between Hausa Nouns and Adjectives it would be somewhat unreasonable to analyse them both as members of a single category. In our view such an analysis would complicate rather than simplify the analysis.

2.5 Semantic Sub-classes of Adjectives

Hausa Adjectives may be subclassified semantically according to whether they are:

- (i) static / dynamic
- (ii) gradable / non-gradable
- (iii) inherent / non-inherent

2.5 (i) Hausa adjectives are characteristically stative. They usually denote "permanent" or "transient" state as in the following examples:

98. Permanent state:

farii / faraa / faraaree (white)
 doogoo / dooguwa / doogaayee (tall)
 tsoohoo / tsoohuwa / tsòofàffii (old)
 kaatoo / kaatuwa / kattai (huge)
 etc.

99. Transient state

Kòorarree / kòorarriyaa / kòoràrruu (dismissed)
 bùudàddee / bùudàddiyaa / bùudàdduu (open)
 kùnnanee / kùnnanniyaa / kùnnànnuu (lighted)
 kèetaccee / kèetacciyaa / kèetàttuu (torn)
 etc.

In the first set, the adjectives denote unchanging or permanent characteristics, whereas in the second they denote characteristics that may be changed or cancelled, and so are temporary in nature.

Thus in

100. kòorarre-m ma'aikácii (a dismissed worker)
 bùudaddè-n koofaa (an open door)
 kùnnanniya-r fitilaa (a lighted lamp)
 kèetacciya-r riigaa (a torn dress),

the 'worker' may be reinstated, the 'door' may be shut, the 'lamp' put out and the 'dress' mended. But it is not normally possible, for one to turn a 'white', 'tall', 'old' or 'huge' person into a 'black', 'short', 'young' or 'tiny' one, as such attributes are permanent rather than temporary.

Some adjectives may also be dynamic, (we are using 'stative' /'dynamic' in the sense of Quirk, et al (1972), i.e. ^{may} serve as VP complement of an imperative construction, e.g.:

101. Kà zama (aadalii) (just
 You (sing.) become () = Be (brilliant
 (haazikii)
 ()
 (nagari) (decent

102. Kù zama (haazikai) (brilliant
 You (pl.) become () = Be (decent
 (nagari)
 ()
 (na'allah) (honest

Many stative adjectives cannot be used dynamically, however. For instance, you cannot have

103. Kà zama { *fari / *doogoo / *tsoohoo / *kaatoo / etc.
 { *kòoraree / *bùudaddee / *kùnnannee / *kèetaccee / etc. }

But the dynamic adjectives may also be stative, e.g.

104. aadali-n sarkii = a just king

105. haaziki-n daalibii = an intelligent student

106. shawaraa tagari = a wise decision

107. shi mutum ne na'allah = he is an honest man.

2.5 (ii)

All the adjectives are gradable in the sense that (1) they admit intensification by kwarai (da gaske), soosai and ainun, and (2) involve implicit comparison against a supposed norm or standard. With regard to the latter, consider the following sequences:

108. kaato-n gidaa = a huge house

109. kaatuwa-r maataa = a huge woman

110. katta-n raakumaa = huge camels

Though the three adjective forms have the same meaning they involve different degrees of comparison. That is, they refer to different norms or standards: in kaato-n gidaa the norm is the relative size of houses; in kaatuwa-r maataa, the norm is the relative size of women; finally, in katta-n raakumaa, the norm is the relative size of camels.

Note that only a few Hausa adjectives allow direct comparison. They include such colour adjectives as jaa (red), bakii (black), etc:

jaa (red) mafi jaa (redder) mafi jaa duka (reddest)
bakii (black) mafi bakii (blacker) mafi bakii duka
 (blackest),

in which the comparative morpheme mafi = 'surpassing', 'more',
 and the phrase mafi Adj. duka = "more Adj. than all".

The regular comparative constructions do not involve the
 use of adjectives even though they have the sense of adjectives,
 e.g.:

111 Audu yaa fi Binta wa'ayoo =
 Audu he surpass Binta clever
 = 'Audu is cleverer than Binta'

112 Gidanshi yaa fi naasu kyau
 house-his it surpass theirs beauty
 = 'His house is more beautiful than theirs'

113 Gidanshi bai kai naasu kyau ba
 House-his NEG reach theirs beauty NEG
 = 'His house is not as beautiful as theirs'

114 'Yarta taa fi duka kyau'
 daughter she surpass all beauty
 = 'Her daughter is the most beautiful of all'.

2.5 (iii)

Adjectives which characterize the referent of the noun directly
 may be said to be 'inherent' whereas those that do not may be said
 to be 'non-inherent' eg.:

115 baka-r mootàa (→ mootàa bakaa)

black car

= 'a black car'

116 baka-r maganàa (→ *màganàa bakaa)

black talk

= 'sarcastic talk'

117 doogo-n yaaròo (→ yaaròo doogoo)

tall boy

= 'a tall boy'

c.f.

118 doogo-n tuuranchii (→ *tuuranchii doogoo)

tall English

= 'long-winded, irrelevant talk'

119 tsoohò-n sarkii (→ sarkii tsoohoo)

old king

= 'the (old) king'
 ()
 (former)
 ()
 (dead)

In sequences (115) and (117), bakaa and doogoo are inherent, as they characterise the referents of mootàa and yaaròo directly. In (116) and (118), however, they are non-inherent, as they do not characterise the referents of maganàa and tuuranchii directly. In (119), on the other hand, tsoohoo is ambiguous between inherent and non-inherent. If it is referring to the age of the king, it may be analysed as inherent. But if it is referring to the fact that the referent was formerly a king but is now retired or dead, then

it may be analysed as non-inherent.

Having established that adjectives exist and function in Hausa as an independent lexical category, we may now turn our attention to the second, and central, problem of this thesis, namely, the tendency for preposed adjectives to have a different meaning from postponed ones, and to be alone subject to order restrictions. This question will be the burden of the next three chapters.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

- 1) The list of items in both classes A and B is not intended to be exhaustive. It merely consists of some of the items that commonly come under them. For more examples of class B items see Table 2.

- 2) C.f. English which presents a similar problem with steel, cotton, party, etc. in such pairs as

<u>steel</u> is costly	vs. a <u>steel</u> plant
<u>cotton</u> is best	vs. a <u>cotton</u> farmer
my <u>party</u> won	vs. my <u>party</u> politics

 in which they seem to be 'nouns' in the first and 'adjectival' in the second. Should we list them twice, or regard them as a sub-class of nouns which can function like adjectives in certain contexts? The latter seems to be more reasonable. (c.f. Palmer 1972, 68).

- 3) Notice that the verbal prefix may serve as aspect marker in sentences with completive, subjunctive or Future 2 aspect. That is to say, the aspect marker and verbal prefix (or pronominal copy) are so fused together in such sentences that it is impossible to isolate them, viz:

<u>Person</u>	<u>Completive</u>	<u>Future 2</u>	<u>Subjunctive</u>
1 gm/f	naa	n ^{aa}	nà
2 ms	kaa	k ^{aa}	kà
fs	kin	ky ^{aa}	kì
3 ms	yaa	y ^{aa}	yà
fs	taa	t ^{aa}	tà
1 pl	mun	m ^{aa}	mù
2 pl	kun	kw ^{aa}	kù
3 pl.	sun	sw ^{aa}	sù
Indefinite	?an	? ^{aa}	?à

In the case of the other aspects, however, the aspect marker is easily isolated, so the verbal prefix does function as an aspect marker. In the following paradigm -naa marks the progressive aspect, - kan the habitual and zaa- the first future:

<u>Person</u>	<u>Progressive</u>	<u>Habitual</u>	<u>Future I</u>
1 gm/f	n-n ^{aa}	na-kàn	zaa-n (à)
2 ms	ka-n ^{aa}	ka-kàn	zaa-kà
fs	ki-n ^{aa}	ki-kàn	zaa-kì
3 ms	ya-n ^{aa}	ya-kàn	zai/zaa-yà
1	ta-n ^{aa}	ta-kàn	zaa-tà
1 pl	mu-n ^{aa}	mu-kàn	zaa-mù

2 pl	ku-nàa	ku-kàn	zaa-kù
3 pl	su-nàa	su-kàn	zaa-sù
Indefinite	a-nàa	a-kàn	zaa- à

- 4) We are using this term in the same sense as Howeidy (1953), Abraham (1959), and Galadanci (1969). As far as we are concerned Parsons's "Dependent Nominals" is simply a terminological variant of "Adjectives" as defined above.
- 5) C.f. Schachter (1966) from whom we borrow the term.
- 6) C.f. Greenbaum (1969) from whom the term is adapted.
- 7) Notice that these glosses are approximate only. The actual translation equivalent for an Intensifier depends on the sense of the adjective it co-occurs with.
- 8) Note that in (61) the adjectives are predicative, so they cannot be regarded as 'optional' in structure. They cannot therefore be deleted, but the Intensifier kwarai, sosai and ainun can be, e.g.:

Riigá-r faraa cée ∅ = the gown is white
 Audù dàkiikii nee ∅ = Audu is dull
 Sarki-n màì hàkurii nee ∅= The chief is patient

But as with (62-3) you cannot have

- * Riigá-r cée kwarai da gaske
- * Audù ne ainun
- * Sarki-n ne soosai

9. C.f. Newman - a case of syntactic overcorrection.
10. N.B. There is a significant difference in meaning between pre- and post-posed adjectives, with the former being generally more specific than the latter. But we shall leave the discussion of this until later (chapters 3 & 4)
11. See Quirk (1965), Crystal (1966) Greenbaum (1970), and particularly Bolinger (1961) for discussion of the phenomenon of gradience in language use.
12. We are using "stative"/"dynamic" in the sense of Quirk, et al. (1972).

CHAPTER THREE: ELICITATION EXPERIMENTS

3.1 We mentioned in the last chapter (2.3) that in the modification relationship between adjectives and nouns in Hausa (as in French, English, Russian, etc.), it is normally the adjective which modifies the noun. We have also argued that the relationship remains constant whether the adjectival modifiers are located in pre-position or in post-position. What we wish to determine next is why adjectives in post-position tend to have different connotations from those in pre-position. As far as I am aware only Galadanci (1969) has commented on this problem, but even he is not very clear on the nature of the difference between the two positions and what causes it.

For a start consider the following sentences:

1. (a) An kaamà wani kaato-m bàraawò =
 "a certain notorious thief has been arrested".
- (b) An kaamà wani bàraawò kaatoo
 "a certain thief (who is, incidentally) huge has been arrested".
- (c) *An kaamà wani bàraawò kaato-m
- (d) *An kaamà wani bàraawò-n kaatoo.
2. (a) An sallamì wani shàhàrarre-m maàikàci =
 "a certain distinguished civil servant has been dismissed".

- (b) An sallamì wani ma'aikàci shàhàrarree =
 "a certain civil servant (who, I recall, is) famous /
notorious has been dismissed .
- (c) *An nadà wani ma'aikàci shàhàrarre-m.
- (d) *An nadà wani ma'aikàci-m shàhàrarree.
3. (a) Yau naa haɗu dà wani muugu-m mùtùm =
 "Today I met a thoroughly wicked, heartless man".
- (b) Yau naa haɗu dà wani mùtùm muuguu =
 "Today I met a certain man (who seemed to me to be) wicked".
- (c) *Yau naa haɗu dà wani mùtùm muugu-m.
- (d) *Yau naa haɗu dà wani mùtùm-in muuguu.
4. (a) Taa saami fari-n yaaròo = "she has given birth to a light-skinned baby boy".
- (b) Taa saami yaaròo farii = "she has given birth to a baby boy
 (who is also) light-skinned".
- (c) *Taa saami yaaròo FARI-n.
- (d) *Taa saami yaarò-n FARII.

In these examples the a and b sentences (in 1 through 4) are identical except in the position of adjectives. This difference in their word order influences their morphology and phonetic realisation considerably.

Thus, in the a sentences (1 through 4) the pre-posed adjectives all end in a short vowel and are obligatorily linked to their head nouns either by means of a nasal consonant that is homorganic with the initial consonant of the antecedent, or by regressively assimilating the final consonant or vowel of the adjective to the initial consonant of the noun (see Appendix A). Observe that where the adjective is High it tends to be on the same pitch as the preceding High of the head noun, with no pause in between, viz:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Adj.} & + & \text{N} \\ - & & - \\ & (-\text{pause}) & \end{bmatrix}$$

In post-position, however, the adjective ends in a long vowel. Note also that in this position it has no direct link with the head noun; that is, no "adjective link" is used to connect it to the latter, and vice versa. When the preceding head noun is High, the adjective is realized on a lower pitch even though it remains a high syllable, viz:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{N} & + & \text{Adj.} \\ - & & - \\ & (+\text{pause}) & \end{bmatrix}$$

hence the unacceptability of all the (c) and (d) sentences in 1 through 4.

Notice also that the variation in the position of the adjective affects the intonation and rhythm of the sentences. For example, in articulating the (b) sentences a junctural pause is usually made between the noun

and its modifier. This is particularly noticeable when several adjectives are stacked in post-position with a listing intonation pattern. In such a case the individual adjectives tend to be heavily accented, and the pauses between them become even longer, e.g.

5. Yâu naa haɗu dà wani mùtùm 'MUUGUU,
'BAKII, 'TSOOHOO, kumà DOOGOO, kàma-r
raakùmii.

"Today I met a certain man (who, I recall, is evil-minded, black, old, (and) tall like a camel."

6. A. Koo zaa kəɣià bayyanàa manà kamannùn bàraawòn?
"Can you tell us what the thief looked like?"

- B. Bân duubee shì sòosai bà. Àmma naa tunàa
yanàa saayè dà watà riigaa 'kaatuwaa,
'faraa, 'saabuwaa, sàakakkiyaa, m̀ai
tsadaa kumà.

"I didn't see him properly. But he was wearing a gown which, I recall, was big, white, new, hand-woven, and expensive looking".

We shall see in chapter 5 that in such a listing pattern normal adjective order restrictions are relaxed. At this stage we are concerned only with the effect of variation in the formal properties of adjectives in pre- and post-position as exemplified in 1 - 6. The overall effect of such a variation seems to be to modify, and sometimes to drastically change, the interpretation or effect of the

adjective itself and of the sentence as a whole. We have attempted to show these differences in the translations given for the examples.

As indicated in the (a and b) sentences (1 - 4) above there is a tendency for the interpretation of the pre-posed adjectives to be closely tied to the lexical properties of their respective head nouns, unlike the post posed ones. As a result they tend to modify their head more precisely than the postposed ones.

For instance, in 2 (a) the civil servant's greatness or fame is closely linked to his status as mààikàcì. In 2 (b), on the other hand, there is no such link between mààikàcì and shàhàrarreè; the post-position of the adjective and the manner in which it is articulated at once rule out any suggestion that N's greatness has any logical connection with his identity or quality as a civil servant. That is to say, the reason for his being shàhàrarreè is not necessarily connected to his job; the adjective is in fact two-ways ambiguous here: ambiguous in its relationship to the noun it modifies, and ambiguous as to whether its reading is positive or negative for it could mean either 'famous' or 'notorious'. To disambiguate the adjective, in particular to indicate whether shàhàrarreè is to be read as "well-known", "famous" or "notorious", it is necessary to append, say, a prepositional phrase with positive or negative connotations to it. E.G.

2. (b¹) An sallamì wani mààikàcìi shàhàrarreèwajen iyà aiki
= "a certain civil servant who is famous for being an excellent workers has been dismissed".

2. (b¹¹) An sallamì wani mààikàcìi shàhàrarreèwajen cin hanci.
= "a certain civil servant who is notorious for bribe-taking ..."

This is never necessary for pre-posed adjectives. In fact, appending such phrases would make the sentence ungrammatical and unacceptable:

6. *An koorì wani shàhàrarrem maaikacii wajen {iyà aiki
cin hancii}

These examples suggest that the interpretation of the adjective varies with its position in the noun phrase as well as with the type of noun it modifies.

Few Hausaists seem to have appreciated this fact, however. The tendency for most analysts is to regard adjectives in pre- and post-position as "synonymous" (cf. Abraham, 1959, Galadanci, 1969, also Parsons, 1963), and to assume that they are completely interchangeable. But this is certainly not the case in my idiolect. Other Hausa native speakers¹ I consulted here in London also seem to be conscious that there is a difference of meaning between adjectives occupying the two positions, but they were not quite sure what was responsible for this difference or whether it applies in all cases. They were also not unanimous about the order in which adjectives may be stacked before or after the head noun.

So in order to ascertain that my own impression about these issues are not totally idiosyncratic and that they are shared by others, particularly non-linguist native speakers of Hausa, I carried out a number of elicitation experiments with some schoolchildren in Nigeria during the second term of the 1975/76 session.

3.2. The Tests were specifically designed to determine:

- 3.2. (a) whether the subjects perceived any difference in the semantic interpretation or effect of adjectives in pre-position as against post-position.
- 3.2. (b) whether they perceived any difference in meaning when two or more adjectives in pre-position are permuted in that position.
- 3.2. (c) whether they perceived any difference when two or more adjectives in post-position are permuted in that position.
- 3.2. (d) whether they perceived any difference in meaning when strings of adjectives (and other noun modifiers) in pre-position and co-occurring strings of adjectives (and other noun modifiers) in post-position are permuted in either or both those positions.
- 3.2. (e) Also to infer from their judgement of sentences containing stacked adjectives in pre-position and in post-position what their order preferences were for adjectives in sequence, and finally
- 3.2. (f) to determine whether restrictions can be imposed on the number of adjectives that may be strung together in pre- and post-position.

The last two objectives were motivated largely by the uncertainty earlier referred to regarding the nature of the restrictions that apply when ordering adjectives in Hausa, i.e. whether they are syntactic, semantic, phonetic, or all three;² and by the absence of any clear

ruling on the number of adjectives that may be used, especially before the Noun.³

The subjects were also asked to provide some information on their linguistic background (i.e. to state what dialect of Hausa they speak), and to state their age and level of education. The aim here is to see whether their reactions to the test sentences have any correlations with such extralinguistic variables. These would be relevant for our purpose should the subjects diverge widely in their response.

3.3. The sentences used were based on observed and potential usage.⁴ The techniques used to elicit the responses of the subjects were modelled on those developed by Quirk, et al. to study acceptability in English (see especially Greenbaum and Quirk 1970). I did not employ all the types of test they have used in their studies, however, this is simply because our aims are different. All that we hoped to achieve in this exercise was a more objective basis for our ideas and conclusions about adjective use in Hausa, specifically to draw some insights from the general pattern of the responses to enable us to resolve the problems confronting us in this thesis. We, therefore, conducted our enquiries within a much simpler experimental structure, as shown in Table I below:

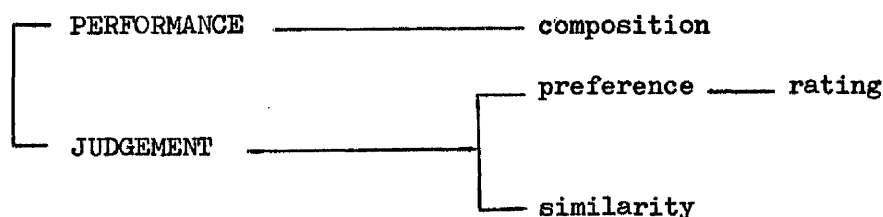


Table I: Types of Test Used

As can be seen from the table only one Performance test and two Judgement tests were considered necessary for our purpose (cf. Greenbaum and Quirk, henceforth "G and Q", p. 3). The Performance test comprised a composition task only. Subjects were asked to complete a part of a sentence with certain adjectives in pre-position and in post-position. Our aim here was simply to see how they would place and order the adjectives they were asked to use in the frames given. In this way we hoped to get some idea of their own use.

The two Judgement tests form the core of the experiments. The first set of tests involved Preferential Rating only (tests 1, 2 and 3) i.e. subjects were required to rate the sentences given them on a three-point scale: "good", "bad", and "not sure".⁵ In the second set, the similarity test (4) subjects were required to judge, again on a three-point scale, whether the given pairs of sentences were "very similar in meaning", "very different in meaning" or "somewhere between". As the Performance test was primarily intended to provide evidence from the subject's own use to support or refute their judgements in tests 2 - 4, it was left until after all the other tasks had been completed.

3.4. The Subjects who participated in the experiments may be divided into four groups according to their age and/or level of education:

Group One: 15-16 years (Form Four, Barewa College, Zaria)
n. = 26.

Group Two: 16-18 years (Form Five, Barewa College, Zaria)
n. = 27.

Group Three: 19-23 years ("A" Level Class, College of Arts,
Science & Technology, Zaria) n. = 23

Group Four: 23-33 years (First Year, A.B.U., Zaria) n. = 7.

The first two groups comprise pupils preparing for the WAEC⁶ "O" Level exams in Hausa, the third of pupils studying "A" Level Hausa, and the fourth are undergraduate students of English, who have, however, never taken any of the official Hausa examinations. They are older than the others, but have not been exposed to "standard" Hausa teaching. Informants from these three institutions were used because they are some of the few places where students from all the Hausa-speaking parts of Nigeria may be found. This, we feel, is a very important prerequisite for a study of this nature. It is just not enough for our purpose to find just a handful of native speakers from one Hausa-speaking area and draw general conclusions about Hausa adjective usage from their responses alone. As "standard" Hausa is in actual fact an amalgam of many features drawn from all the major dialects of the language, it would be misleading to do that. In any case, it would be false to assume that the speech habits of such a chosen group would be uniform in themselves. We know from our experience of the language and from the evidence of sociolinguistic studies conducted elsewhere⁷ that variation is as much a feature of intra-group behaviour as it is of inter-group behaviour. Our guiding principle in the choice of informants, therefore, is the one that states that if "standard" Hausa exists at all it must be found where speakers from various parts of Hausaland live together and are in constant contact.

The institutions we have chosen provide the ideal environment for this kind of interaction to take place.⁸ The breakdown of our

informants by dialect reveals the extent of inter-dialect contact between them:

Kanonci	22	
Katsinanci	39	
Sakkwatanci	6	
Zazzaganci	13	
Others (Bauchi, Yola etc.)	3	<u>Total</u> = <u>83</u>

If we consider the fact that Katsinanci is not really very different from Kanonci (the supposed standard variant), and the fact that these two jointly differ from Zazzaganci only in minor grammatical and communicatively insignificant matters of detail, we can see that the subjects used are not actually the mixed bag that they would appear to be at first sight. In informal conversations with many of them before the tests I was struck by the fact that hardly any of them spoke a glaringly dialectal Hausa, not even the six who claim to have come from Sokoto and who one would expect to reflect the well-known idiosyncracies of Sakkwatanci in their speech. Equally interesting is the fact that many of them had difficulty stating what dialect of Hausa they spoke, as part of the background information required. This was largely because they did not consider their Hausa to be different from that of anybody else. Thus our impression about the absence of any real difference in their spoken Hausa is strengthened by their feelings about their own usage.

We are therefore, right in regarding these institutions as ideal for our experiments. They are boarding and located in an urban

environment; and seem to contain all the ingredients that make up the wider Hausa society.

The number of subjects tested was not calculated on a strict statistical basis, however. Participation in the tests was made entirely voluntary, so the numbers involved were simply of those who made themselves available at the time. Luckily, we had the full backing of the teachers and authorities of the institutions, so in many cases (groups 1 - 3) whole classes were placed at our disposal. This made it possible for many students to participate in the tests. We could have tested more students in similar institutions located elsewhere if we wanted to but the time and resources available to us were severely limited. At any rate, our aim was not to conduct an exhaustive study of all manner of variations in adjective usage and their interpretation by all Hausa speakers, even if that were possible, but to draw valuable insights from the responses of the subjects to support or refute our assumptions as stated above. For this purpose any number would do. We think the number we succeeded in testing was quite adequate for our purpose and for a one-man study.

3.5. All the tests, except the Composition Test, were prerecorded on tape and cassette and then relayed to the subjects in the language laboratory of the Department of English and Modern Languages, A.B.U., or played back in the classrooms made available to us at Barewa College and the College of Arts, Science and Technology, Zaria. Typed copies of the recorded sentences were also given to the subjects to note their reactions on. Subjects were thus able to look at as well

as listen to the test sentences at the same time. Instructions were recorded in English simply because the subjects were used to similar instructions in English for their school examinations. But in order to ensure that they understood exactly what they were required to do, verbal explanations in Hausa were given to them before they started the tests.

We decided in favour of an audio-visual presentation because it enabled us, first, to control the pace at which the subjects performed the tasks given them; second, to ensure that they all heard exactly the same thing; and third, to present the same recorded material to different groups of subjects in different places without variations or mistakes in its prosodic rendering. The last two points are important because Hausa is a tone language and any undue variation in the pronunciation of the test material as is most likely to occur in a "live" presentation, could lead to confusion and make it difficult for the subjects to record their reactions along the lines required of them. Furthermore, presentation by means of a questionnaire alone would be similarly confusing since the tone is not normally marked in the orthography. It was not possible for us to conduct all the tests in the language laboratory, however, but we were fortunate to find classrooms with relatively good acoustic conditions, and nothing happened in the course of the experiments to distract the subjects unduly from the tasks.

The subjects were also allowed to remain anonymous if they wanted to, but were nevertheless urged to provide the background information required, namely their age, sex, dialect, hometown and place of birth. (All the subjects who volunteered were male, so sex was irrelevant as a variable in the experiment.)

As none of them had participated in an elicitation experiment before, it was necessary to get the subjects to take it easy. They were assured that their reactions would not be assessed, nor be seen by their respective tutors. These assurances plus the fact that they were allowed to be anonymous appeared to have had a positive effect upon them, for they set about the tasks seriously, and recorded their true responses freely and unashamedly.

At the end of the tape they were asked to do the composition test - only the instructions were read out to them. It was thought that they would find it easier to do this test at the end, having just finished marking several test sentences with adjectives located in different positions and ordered in different ways. Surprisingly, however, only a few of them succeeded in completing this test within the time available. On the whole it was badly done, presumably because they were tired or because, having been left to their own devices, (with no pre-recorded accompaniment) the exercise looked like a real test of their personal knowledge and use, and so made some of them nervous. Consequently few of the responses were valid. They cannot therefore be used as a basis for comparing the subjects's own use with their judgements (as indicated in the other tests). We will use them, however, for the insights they provide on the various ways in which adjectives in pre- and post-position may be ordered in Hausa (see Chapter 5).

3.6 For the registration of results, if the subject marks a sentence twice, say, by a tick (✓) and then crosses it out and replaces it with another mark, his response is regarded as "unsure"

and a score of one is entered under the "not sure" column. Similarly if for any reason he fails to mark any test sentence: in either case we take it that the subject is unsure of his response to the sentence.

3.7. The results obtained for each test are displayed in the Tabular Appendices. The scores were calculated first for the groups, then for all the subjects put together.

3.8. The results in general provide strong support for our assumptions (see 3.1). They show that the subjects recognize that variations in the position and order of Hausa attributive adjectives do have important consequence for the semantic interpretation of the latter. They thus indicate that we are right in claiming that adjectives in pre- and post-position are not interchangeable or in "free variation". We shall present arguments (in Chapters 4 and 5) in favour of treating the two positions as paradigmatically related.

The Similarity test in particular provides evidence in support of this point of view. The sentences comprising it may be re-arranged to form three sets of sentence pairs, with each set highlighting a particular problem and the subjects reactions towards it:

Set One: (1, 8, 13 and 15) in which the sentences were identical except in the position of the adjective.

Aim: to test the effect of pre-position versus post-position of the adjective.

Set Two: (2 to 7) in which the sentences were identical except that the co-occurring adjectives were permuted in each of the sentences.

Aim: to test the effect of indiscriminate order change of the adjectives.

Set Three: (9 to 12, 14, 16) in which the adjectival constructions comprise different lexical items or clauses, but with similar semantic and/or syntactic function.

Aim: to test whether two formally distinct items could be "synonymous".

It was hypothesised that if the sentence pairs of Set One and Set Two are all judged "very similar in Meaning" by the subjects (i.e. their similarity scores respectively add up to 100 %) we should take this to mean that the subjects did not perceive any difference in the semantic interpretation of the adjectives in pre- and post-position. If, on the other hand, no pair is judged in this way (i.e. have a similarity score of less than 100 %) we must conclude that the subjects feel that there is a difference in meaning between the sentences caused by changing the position or order of the adjectives. Similarly, if no pair of sentences in Set Three is judged synonymous, we must assume that this is due to the lexical and syntactic differences between the modifiers; that is, their different properties as phrases, clauses, nominalisations, etc., militates against their being interchanged without a change of meaning or effect (see Chapter 4).

Now, even a cursory glance through the results will reveal that none of the sentence pairs in the three sets has been judged "very similar in meaning" by the subjects. For Set One, only one of the four groups had a 100 % "Equals" score (i.e. 1), but this could be regarded as a minor aberration at the initial stage of the test, and

does not even seriously affect the overall "equals" score for all the groups for that pair (92.77 %). Furthermore the scores for the other three pairs of sentences in this set do not show any real divergence in the judgements of the groups. The results for this set as a whole clearly demonstrate that the subjects indeed perceived significant differences in the semantic effect of adjectives in pre-position as against those in post-position. For instance the "equals" scores for

8 ((Yaa àùrì kyàkkyàawa-r yaarinyaa (93.98 %)
(Yaa àùrì yaarinyaa kyàkkyàawaa

and for 15 ((Baa na sòn yaàgaggiya-r riigaa (80.72 %)
(Baa na sòn riigaa yaàgaggiyaa

respectively provide indirect measures of the difference caused by the variation in the position of the adjective in each pair. The difference in their scores and of the other pairs, however, seems to indicate that syntactic differences were not the only factors the subjects considered while marking the sentences. The lexical properties of the adjectives seem also to have affected their judgements - otherwise they should have marked them all in the same way. They apparently distinguished between simple adjectives and participles and the qualitative difference in their respective relationship to the head noun. Thus simple adjectives like fari and kyàkkyawa seem to be closer to the noun and focus more on the attributes of the noun than "participial" adjectives like yàgaggiya, bùdádde, kòràrru etc., which tend to focus more attention on themselves. That is, with

simple adjectives the noun is the focus, whereas with participials the focus is both on the noun and the verb from which the adjectives have been derived. This division in focus seems to be even more pronounced when the adjective is post-posed thereby making it sound even less closely related to the noun. (Observe, a similar difference in the relationship between the noun and adjective-type seems to exist in English: e.g. dry fruit versus dried fruit; clear road versus cleared road; a grown woman versus a growing woman; a record win versus a recorded win; record delivery versus recorded delivery; etc.).

Note that 13 has the lowest score not because of the adjective-type involved (= a simple one) but because the interposition of deictic nan ("the one mentioned before") between the adjective and noun has the effect of dissociating, or interrupting the relationship between, the two, thereby making the adjective somewhat superfluous: nan suggests that both the speaker and the hearer know all about yarò; mùnafùki does not therefore say anything new about yarò in the sentence.

Note also the comparatively lower similarity scores achieved by Set Two sentences. These seem to indicate not only the subject's awareness of the semantic significance of variation in adjective position, but also their recognition of the fact that an uncontrolled variation of their sequential order could have serious consequences for the grammaticality and / or acceptability of the sentence itself. Thus the very low score of 3 ("Equals" = 9.64 %).

3 (Yaa baani kaaton farin yaaròn dookii
 (Yaa baani yaaròn kaaton farin dookii

very nearly amounts to a total rejection of the pair. This is presumably due to the fact that the indiscriminate permutation of the adjectives of the second sentence of the pair has made the sentence absurd and infelicitous - for it could be read as

* "He gave me (the) servant of (the) big, white horse."

Their rejection of this sentence as semantically equivalent to the first sentence thus suggests that they recognize that there are order restrictions for adjectives in Hausa. We shall attempt to determine what these restrictions are in a later section (chapter 5).

Set Three sentences have low scores also, but for a different reason. These indicate that even though some màì + N adjective phrases like màì tsooròò, màì kyau, màì zurfii, etc., may occasionally be exchanged for matsooracii, kyakkyawaa, zuzzurfaa, etc., respectively, they do not have the same meaning. (We shall return to this point in chapter six when we consider other phrasal noun-modifiers).

We may tentatively conclude, therefore, that the results of the similarity test have verified our assumption of a close link between the formal (= syntactic, morphological, phonological) properties of Hausa adjectives and their semantic interpretation. Specifically, they provide the objective basis we need to answer the questions raised in 3.2 (a-d) in the affirmative. They also (plus the results of the preference test to be analysed in chapter five) provide us with valuable insights into the question of ordering adjectives when two or more co-occur in pre- and/or post-position.

At this point we should like to dispose of one issue: the question of the possible influence of background variables, such as age, sex or level of education, on the subject's reactions to the data presented them, as raised in 3.2 above. It is clear from the pattern of all the scores for all the tests that such variables did not in any way influence the results (we have noted that "sex" is irrelevant because all the subjects were male). If they did, the pattern of the scores would have reflected it. We can thus claim that in both the Preference and Similarity tests the subject's responses were independent of their group membership. This is illustrated by the fact that the total scores for each test sentence were remarkably similar to the group totals, thereby indicating the absence of any serious divergence between the groups. The division of the subjects into four groups therefore had no value other than to make it easier to conduct the tests. Some minor variations in their scoring of the sentences were of course manifest, but these we prefer to attribute to their individual preference or, perhaps, to differences in their linguistic competence.

The fact that they displayed such differences, is important for us, however, for their very existence demonstrates that the usual claim that adjectives in pre- and post-position mean the same is false. They also seem to indicate that the problem of their variant interpretation can best be handled by correlating their form and meaning. We shall explore this possibility in some detail in the following chapters.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

- 1 I am particularly grateful to Malam Dalhatu Muhammed and M. Gidado Bello for the useful discussions I had with them on this question.

- 2 For instance, Galadanci (1969, p. 108) has remarked:
 "... There appears to be some kind of sequential ordering of such Adjectives; for instance a colour adjective always occurs last in any sequence in which it occurs. E.g. (wani) kòsashen doogon farin dookii (= a tall well-fed white horse).
 Not "farin kòsashen doogon dookii. or * doogon farin kòsashen dookii".

He does not tell us why one sequence is acceptable and the others not.

- 3 Galadanci (op. cit., p. 192) has stipulated that no more than four adjectives and other modifiers may occur before and / or after the noun. Again, he has not stated why this is so. His ruling is in fact in violation of his earlier assertion that several adjectives may qualify a noun (c.f. footnote 2 above). In fact adjectives plus other modifiers usually add up to more than four both in pre-position and in post-position. (See Chapter 5 for details).

- 4 "Observed" in speech of others, particularly in radio advertising, newspapers and some other written sources (e.g. Magana Jarice, Ikon Allah, Wakokin Imfiraji V, etc.)
The sources of our examples will be indicated whenever possible. "Potential" refers to examples which are possible Hausa sentences though not actually heard in the speech of others.

- 5 Note that G and Q's "Preference" and "Evaluation" tasks are subsumed here, for, in our view, marking a sequence as "good" rather than "bad" suggests that the subjects not only prefer it to the others in the set, but also that they find it more acceptable than the rest. We felt that our informants would most probably be confused if we insisted on a distinction between the two types of judgement. Hence our use of a much simplified, though admittedly potentially biased instruction. As they were all non-linguist and had not participated in elicitation experiments before, we had to use the simplest kind of instruction, possible.

- 6 WAEC = West African Examinations Council.

- 7 Cf, W. Labov (1966), also Trudgill (1974).

- 8 Ahmed&Daura (1970) confirm our view about the kind of Hausa spoken in these institutions.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRE-POSITION AND POST-POSITION IN HAUSA - A SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

4.1. Our similarity test results have confirmed our view that there is a difference of meaning between preposed and postposed adjectives. They do not, however, tell us what the difference is, and why there is such a difference. For satisfactory answers to these questions we must rely on clues provided by the language itself as well as on our own native intuitions. As meaning and form are regularly correlated in Hausa we must assume that the difference in meaning between the two adjective forms is associated with the difference in their formal properties. Our task in this chapter and the next one is to determine what the formal-semantic characteristics of adjectives in pre- and post-position are.

4.2. There is a difference in meaning between preposed and postposed adjectives generally because the two positions affect both the shape and distribution of the adjective: (1) preposed adjectives are systematically linked to the head, whilst postposed ones are not (see 2.4, 3.1, and Appendix A); (2) preposed adjectives have a more restricted distribution than postposed ones - that is far fewer adjectives may occur in pre-position than in post-position (see below). These formal differences have as their semantic correlates the different associations that adjectives in pre- and post-position tend to have: adjectives in pre-position are associated with greater explicitness than their counter-parts in post-position. That is to say, even though adjectives in both positions generally help to narrow the range of reference of their head nouns, those in pre-position

tend to do so more precisely than those in post-position.

Compare,

1. Naa ga wani mùtùm
 I (+Asp) see certain person
 = "I saw a man"

2. Naa ga wani doogo-n mùtùm
 I (+Asp) see certain tall person
 = "I saw a certain tall man"

3. Naa ga wani mùtùm, doogoo
 I (+Asp) see certain person, tall
 = "I saw a man who is, incidentally, tall"

In (1) we are not told what sort of man was seen by the speaker. In (2) and (3), however, we have more information about the person seen: we are told something about his height. But whereas doogoo in (2) establishes the man as member of a class (of 'tall men'), in (3) it is simply parenthetical. The point of the sentence is like that of (1), namely, that the speaker has seen someone. The only difference is that in this case the person was additionally observed to be "tall". Thus, even though doogoo provides some information about mùtùm, it does not serve as an aid to identification - hence the usual description of such postnominal adjectives as "appositional" modifiers in the literature (c.f. Abraham 1959, Kraft & Kirk-Greene 1974, etc.).

The semantic difference between pre-position and post-position is best exemplified when a single noun head is modified by two adjectives, simultaneously, one in pre-position, the other in post-position, e.g:

4. Naa ga (baki-n)
 () yaaròn nan
 (kaato-n)

I(+Asp.) see black / huge boy that-one

= "I saw the / that (black) boy
 (huge)

5. Naa ga kaato-n yaarò-n nan bakii

I(+Asp) see huge boy that-one black

= "I saw the / that huge boy (who you know is) black".

Consider also (6-8):

6. (wadànnân)
 () yàara-n = (these)
 (wadàncân) (those) children

7. (wadànnân)
 () shakiyya-n yàara-n = (these)
 (wadàncân) (those) naughty children.

8. (wadànnân)
 () yàara-n shakiyyai = (these) children
 (wadàncân) (those)

(who, as you can see, are being) naughty.

Baki-n and kaato-n in (4) and shakiyya-n in (7) serve to restrict the reference of yaaroo and yaaraa respectively to an identifiable group. Of the many boys known to the speaker / listener, only one is being singled out in (4). Similarly in (7), of the many yaaraa present in the given context only those characterised, by their naughtiness are referred to. Such adjectives are "restrictive" since their respective noun heads can be linguistically identified" only through the modification that they provide (c.f. Quirk and Greenbaum, p. 276).

In (5) and (8), however, bakii and shakiyyai provide additional information which is not essential for identifying the head: deictic nan in (5) and (8), plus kaato-n in (5) give the impression that the head can be independently identified. Consequently they are "non-restrictive."

Notice that even though we claimed at the beginning of this chapter that preposed adjectives generally help to narrow down the range of reference of their head nouns more precisely than postposed ones, this does not mean that all preposed adjectives are "restrictive", and that all postposed ones are "non-restrictive". The restrictive / non-restrictive distinction applies only where the noun the adjective co-occurs with is definite (e.g. 4-8), for nothing in an indefinite NP may logically be said to be 'restrictive'.¹

4.3. These formal-semantic differences between adjectives in pre- and post-position seem to suggest that they are paradigmatically opposed, and that they are used to serve different purposes in Hausa—hence the informant's responses to the sentences of the Similarity

Test (see chapter three). Post-position is the 'unmarked' or 'favourite' order of the adjective in Hausa, hence its preponderance in our data. Pre-position, on the other hand, is marked or restricted, hence the paucity of examples in our corpus containing two or more adjectives in pre-position. For instance, consider (9-10) in which there are far fewer pre-positions than post-positions of the modifiers:

9. "Dagà nan nè kumà sai bàbban sakatarèn yayi
=from there is also then chief secretary he-ASP

kiraa ga dukan jama'aa dà sù baiwà Gwamnati
call to all people with they give government

cikakken haɗin kai... wajen ganin an saami
fullest joining head towards seeing one-ASP get

cin nasarà-n bàbban aikin dà aka saa
win victory-of/for big work which one-ASP put

à gabà na saakè zaunar dà nakasassu,
at/in front for changing living of handicapped.

tagayyararru, dà kuma 'yan kaakaa-nikaayi à koo
helpless and also destitute in every
ina à kasar nan."
place in country this.

"It's then that the principal secretary mentioned, also called on all the people to give the Government their fullest co-operation to see that success is achieved in the important task of resettling those who are handicapped helpless and destitute in every part of this country".

10. ... gaa shì Dàuraa muhimmin gàrii ne, mài kyau,
 see it D. important town is beautiful
mài tuushèe, mài tsabtàa, mài farin jinii, mài kaasaitàa,
 historic clean popular fast-growing
 ammaa baa wuta-n lantarkii.
 yet there is no fire of electricity.

("Letters to the Editor"

Gaskiya 2/2/76, p. 3, col. 1)

You know that Daura is an important town which is beautiful, historic, clean, popular, (and) fast-growing, yet there is no electricity.

4.4. As many adjectives may occur both in pre- and post-position, the tendency for Hausa speakers to use one form of the adjective more commonly than the other must be related to the ability of the items to serve different purposes in the discourse. As suggested above, postposed adjectives may be used without necessarily committing them to the identification of their noun head. Preposed adjectives, on the other hand, are generally used in contexts where greater precision or focus is required. That is to say, they are preposed to satisfy

particular discourse-related requirements like the following: -

(I) The need to specify or characterize a particular noun,

e.g.:

11. doogo-n yaarò-n

tall boy-the

= "The tall boy" ("... not the short one")

12. doogo-n yaarò-n can

tall boy-the that

= "That tall boy" ("... not the short one")

13. tsoohuwa-r maata[^]-r

old woman-the

= "The old woman" ("... not the young one")

14. saabuwa-r maata-r-sa

new wife-of-his

= "His new wife" ("... not the old one")

The adjectives in these examples are restrictive. In post-position, however, doogoo, tsoohuwaa and saabuwaa are clearly non-restrictive, e.g.:

15. yaaròⁿ nan, doogoo

boy that-one tall

= "The boy (we talked about) who is tall.
()
(in question)

16. [^]maata-n nan tsoohuwaa
 woman that-one old
 = "The woman (we talked about), who is old.
 ()
 (in question)
17. mootarsa [`]saabuwaa [`]diin nan
 car-his new that one
 = "That car of his, which is new"

In these examples the postmodifying adjectives provide additional information only, and are uncommitted to the identity of yaaro-n, maata-r, maatarsa and mootarsa respectively. These nouns can be independently identified without the aid of any of the adjectives that modify them. It is clear therefore that the adjectives in (11-14) have a different function from those in (15-17).

II. The need to distinguish a noun in terms of its reference system only, e.g.: in

18. [`]babba-n yaaro-n nan
 big boy that-one
 = "That big boy"

babba-n refers to the physical size of yaaroo, but in

19. [`]babba-n sarkin nan
 very important chief that-one
 = "(first-class) chief"
 ()
 (very important)

The referent is bàbba qua sarkii. That is, the interpretation of bàbba here has nothing to do with the physical size of the referent.

Similarly in

20. bàbba-n soojà-n nan ('that high-ranking army officer')

the referent is bàbba qua soojà, and in

21. bàbba-n bàraawò-n nan ('that notorious thief'), the

referent is bàbba qua bàraawò. Their physical size

or any other quality are of no interest here. The same applies to the interpretation of shàhàrarree in (22-24):

22. Shàhàrarre-n ma'aikàcin nan ('that well-known / famous civil servant')

Here the referent is shàhàrarree qua ma'aikacii only; in

23. shàhàrarre-n mawààkin nan ('that famous singer'), he is

shàhàrarree qua mawààkii only; and in

24. shàhàrarre-n bàraawòn nan (that notorious thief'), he is

shàhàrarree qua bàraawò only.

Now compare (25-30):

25. sarkii bàbba ('big/important chief') where bàbba is ambiguous

in its denotation between the physical size and social status of sarkii;

26. soojà babba ('big/important soldier) where babba is ambiguous in its denotation between physical size and military rank;
27. baraawò babba ('big thief') where babba is unambiguous, for cultural reasons, and refers to the physical size of the referent only;
28. ma'aikàcii shàhàrarree = $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{famous civil servant.} \\ \text{the civil servant who is, incidentally,} \\ \text{famous.} \end{array} \right.$

where shàhàrarree is ambiguous between shàhàrarree qua ma'aikàcii or for other unspecified reasons;

29. mawaakii shàhàrarree = $\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{famous singer} \\ \text{(the singer who is, incidentally, famous)} \end{array} \right)$

where shàhàrarree is ambiguous between shàhàrarree qua mawaakii, or for other unspecified reasons;

30. baraawò shàhàrarree $\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{notorious thief} \\ \text{(the thief, who is, incidentally, famous)} \end{array} \right)$

where shàhàrarree is ambiguous between shàhàrarree qua baraawò (wherein it would be interpreted as "notorious"), or for other unspecified reasons.

In other words, the interpretation of the postposed adjectives may be related to the inherent properties of the noun head or it may have no connection with any of them. In this sense also they are less precise than preposed adjectives. (c.f. English good singer = good qua singer; but the singer is good may mean he is good "at ludo", "to meet", "as a singer", etc., or that he is "honest", "kind", "trustworthy", etc. Also eager student may mean he is eager "to be off", "to play the piano", "to finish his homework", "to demonstrate", etc. (For ^{more} details see Bolinger, 1967)).

III. To confine the sense of an adjective with a wide semantic field to the lexical meaning of the noun head, e.g.: kyàkkyaaawaa has such meanings as "beautiful", decent, proper, useful, interesting, meaningful, etc.", but in

31. kyàkkyaaawa-r muryàa = melodious voice ²
kyàkkyaaawa-r hiirà = interesting discussion
kyàkkyaaawa-r nasaràa = complete success
kyàkkyaaawa-n bincikèe = thorough investigation
kyàkkyaaawa-r haalii = decent behaviour
kyàkkyaaawa-r manúfaa = good intention
kyàkkyaaawa-r yaarinyàa = beautiful girl.
 etc.

the meaning of the adjective is obviously restricted to reflect the properties of the following head noun.

Similarly the interpretation of muuguu, farii, faraa, and jae varies according to what noun they modify in (32-35):

32. muugu-n sarkii = unjust, bad, vindictive king
 muugu-n kallòo = excessive look
 muugu-n nufii = bad intention
 muugu-n maganàa = sarcastic talk
 muugaaye-n al'aadùu = evil practices
 muugu-n iskàa = strong wind
 muugu-n gudùu = dangerous speed
33. fari-n dookii = white horse
 fara-r maàtaa = light-skinned / white woman
 fari-n cikii = happy state
34. ja-r faataa = white man / men
 ja-r jakàa = red bag
 ja-n halii = "courageous character" (= brave)
35. baki-n mùtùm = black man
 baki-n ruwaa = plain water
 baki-n cikii = unhappy state, unhappiness
 baki-n waayoo = excessive cleverness
 bakaake-n al'aadùu = bad, dirty habits
 baki-n mài = engine oil
 etc.

The meanings of these sets of adjectives are sometimes related but as the glosses show they are seldom equivalent.

IV. To single out or assign priority to one adjective in a sequence. Such an adjective is usually said on a higher pitch than the rest of the sequence (c.f. 5.8), e.g.:

36. riigaa saabuwaa, kuma faraa →
 gown new also white
 = "a new white gown"

 'FARA-r riigaa saabuwaa
 white gown new
 = " a WHITE new gown"

 riigaa saabuwaa, kaatuwaa kuma faraa →
 gown new large also white
 = "a gown (which is) new, large and white"

SAABUWA-r riigaa kaatuwaa kuma faraa
 new gown large also white
 = "a NEW gown, which is also large and white"

OR

saabuwa-r baka-r riigaa →
 new black gown
 = "a new black gown"

 { BAKA-r riigaa saabuwa = "a BLACK gown, which is also new" }
 { BAKA-r saabuwa-r riigaa = "a BLACK new gown" }

In these examples priority is assigned to the adjectives in bold type. That is, they are used contrastively to reflect the speaker's view that they are the most discriminative properties of riigaa.

It is clear therefore that the difference in meaning between adjectives in pre- and post-position is closely related to the difference in their formal properties. It is also clear that many speakers of Hausa are not only aware of the formal-semantic differences between pre-position and post-position, but also take advantage of it to achieve varying degrees of precision, emphasis, or contrast in the modification process according to the pragmatic demands of the communication situation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

- 1) C.f. English a red book vs. the red book. In the former, red is simply descriptive as the NP is indefinite; but in the latter, it may be restrictive or non-restrictive:

the red book = (the book which is red)
 ()
 (the book which is, incidentally, red)

- 2) These translations are approximate only.

CHAPTER FIVE . ORDER OF ADJECTIVES

5.1. In this chapter we will consider the restrictions that apply when several adjectives are concatenated in pre- and post-position. It is not uncommon for two or more adjectives and other modifiers to be stacked in either position in modification of a single head noun. So it is important for our purpose in this thesis to try to determine the nature of the constraints, if any, that govern their co-occurrence in these positions. We shall argue below that the relevant constraints are semantic rather than syntactic, and apply only in pre-position.

5.2. To help us account for the usual ordering and co-occurrence of adjectives in pre-position and post-position the following semantic sets of adjectives are proposed: -

(a) adjectives denoting colour, e.g.:

bakii / bakaa / bakàakee¹ (black)
farii / faraa / faraaree (white)
jaa / jaajaayee (red)
kooree / kooriyaa / kooraayee (green)
 etc.

(b) adjectives denoting taste, e.g.:

zazaakaa / zaakakkuu (sweet)
daddaataa / daatattuu (bitter)
daddaadaa / daadadduu (delicious)

(c) adjectives denoting smell, e.g.:

wawwaaraa (smelly, stinking)
 mai kaushii (sweet-smelling)
 mai hamamii (nauseous)

(d) adjectives denoting age, e.g.:

tsoofoo / tsoofuwaa / tsòofàffii (old)
 yaaroo / yaarinyaa / yâaraa (young)
 saaboo / saabuwaa / saabàbbii (new)
 kòodáddée / kòodaddiyaa / kòodádduu (worn)

(e) adjectives denoting size / shape, e.g.:

kaatoo / kaatuwaa / katta (huge)
 babba / manyaa (big)
 karamii / karamaa / kanaanàa (small)
 zungùreeree / zungùreeriyaa / zunguraa - zùngùraa
 (long, luxurious)
 shirgeegée / shirgeegiyaa / shirgaa - shirgàa
 (enormous)
 gundùmeemée / gundùmee_miyaa / gundumaa - gùndùmaa
 (massive, heavily-built)

(f) adjectives of material, e.g.:

na/ta uulù (woollen)
 na/ta leeshi (lacey)
 na/ta karfée (metallic)
 na/ta kaataakoo (wooden)

(g) deverbal adjectives denoting results, e.g.:

gínanee / gínanniyaa / gínannuu ('ready-built')
 saakakkee / saakakkiyaa / saakakkuu (hand-woven)
 cikakkee / cikakkiyaa / cikakkuu (filled)
 buúdáddee / buúdádfiyaa / buúdádduu (open)
 rúfaffee / rúfaffiyaa / rúfáffuu (closed)
 laálaataccee / laálaatacciyaa / laálaatattuu (spoilt)
 koórarree / koórarriyaa / kóorárruu (dismissed)
 tsiínanee / tsiínanniyaa / tsiínannuu (cursed)
 zaábabbee / zaábabbiyaa / zaábábbuu (chosen)
 etc.

(h) denominal adjectives denoting provenance or ethnic background, e.g.:

bàhaushèe / bàhaushiyyaa / Hàusaàawaa (Hausa, Hausa-speaking)
 bàtuurèe / bàtuuriyaa / tùuràawaa ('European(s)')
 bàlaarabèe / bàlaarabiyyaa / laarabaawaa (Arab (s))
 bàbarbarèe / bàbarbariyyaa / barèebarii (of Barber stock,
 Kanuri)
 bàyarbèe / bàyarbiyyaa / yarbaawaa (Yoruba, Yoruba-speaking)

(i) general adjectives, e.g.:

matsiyaacii / matsiyaaciyyaa / matsiyaataa (destitute,
 aggressive)
 bàhagòo / bàhagùwaa / ?bàhagwai (left-handed, difficult)
 butulù (ungrateful)

munaafukii / munaafukaa / munàafukai (unreliable)
 na-/ta-gari (decent, well-behaved)
 mai fara'aa / maasu fara'aa (polite)
 mai aadalci / maasu aadalci (just)
 mummuuna / muunaanaa (ugly)
 kyakkyaawaa / kyaawaawaa (beautiful)
 malaalaacii / malaalaaciya / malaalaataa (lazy, indolent)
 etc.

Observe that the sets are not intended to be absolute, but simply to reflect general characteristics. The labels used are also arbitrary, as others could easily be substituted; for instance, sets a, e and g could just as well be labelled "hue", "dimension", "consequence" respectively.

5.3. As indicated in (3.2) above, one of the aims of the elicitation experiments with some native informants was to determine what restrictions, if any, are applicable when ordering Hausa adjectives in pre- and post-position (see 3.2 (e)). This question has to my knowledge received little or no attention in existing Hausa studies, despite the fact that speakers can distinguish between what adjective sequences are acceptable and which ones are unacceptable when they are used in modification of a single head noun. This is particularly the case in pre-position. For instance, consider the following examples: -

1. a. Taa haifi shirgege-n baki-n yaaròo
 she deliver huge black baby-boy
 + Asp.
 ="She has given birth to a huge black baby boy".

- b. *Taa haifi baki-n shirgeegè-n yaaròo
 she deliver black huge baby-boy
 +Asp
 = * "She has given birth to a black huge baby boy".

c.f.

- 2 a. Taa haifi yaaròo, shirgeegè, bakii.
 she deliver baby-boy huge black
 +Asp.
 = "She has given birth to a baby boy, who is huge
 and black"

- b. Taa haifi yaaròo, bakii, shirgeegè.
 She deliver baby-boy, black, huge
 + Asp
 = "She has given birth to a baby boy, who is black,
 as well as huge"

- 3 a. Audù nàa dà zungùreeriya-r fara-r mootàa.
 Audu has with long white car
 = "Audu has a long white car"

- b. *Audù nàa dà fara-r zungùreeriya-r mootàa
 Audu has with white long car
 = "Audu has a white long car"

c.f.

- 4 a. Audù nàa dà watà mootàa, faraa, zungùreeriya.
 Audu has with certain car white long
 = "Audu has a car, which is white and long."

b. Audu nàa dà watà mootàa, zungùreeriyaa, faraa.

Audu has with certain car long white.

= "Audu has a car, which is long and white".

5 a. Yanàa dà zungùreeriya-r tsoohuwa-r fara-r mootàa

He-has with long old white car

"He has a long old white car"

b. *Yanàa dà fara-r tsoohuwa-r zungùreeriyar mootàa.

He-has with white old long car

= "He has a white old long car"

c. *Yanàa dà tsoohuwa-r zungùreeriya-r fara-r mootàa

He-has with old long white car

= "He has an old long white car"

d. *Yanàa dà tsoohuwa-r fara-r zungùreeriya-r mootàa

He-has with old white long car

= "He has an old white long car"

c.f.

6 a. Yanàa dà mootàa faraa, tsoohuwaa, zungùreeriyaa

He-has with car white old long

= "He has a car, (which is) white, old and long"

b. Yanàa dà mootàa tsoohuwaa, faraa, zungùreeriyaa

He-has with car old white long

= "He has a car, (which is) old, white and long"

- c. Yanàa dà mootàa zungùreeriyaa, faraa, tsoohuwaa
 He has with car long white old
 = "He has a car, (which is) long, white and old".
- d. Yanàa dà mootàa zungùreeriyaa, tsoohuwaa, faraa
 He-has with car long old white
 = "He has a car, (which is) long, old and white
- 7 a. Yaa sayi watà laalàatacciyà-r zungùreeriyà-r
 he (+Asp) buy certain damaged long
tsoohuwa-r fara-r mootàa
 old white car
 = "He has bought a damaged, long, old, white car"
- b. *Yaa sayi watà fara-r laalàatacciyà-r tsoohuwa-r
 he buy certain white damaged old
 +Asp.
zungùreeriyà-r mootàa
 = "He has bought a white, damaged, old, long car"
- c. *Yaa sayi watà tsoohuwa-r fara-r laalàatacciyà-r
 He buy certain old white damaged
 +Asp.
zungùreeriyà-r mootàa.
 long car
 = "He has bought an old, white, damaged, long car"
- d. ? *Yaa sayi watà zungùreeriyà-r tsoohuwa-r laalàatacciyà-r
 He buy certain long old damaged
 + Asp.
fara-r mootàa.
 white car

= "He has bought a long, old, damaged, and white car"

c.f.

8 a. Yaa sayi watã mootaã laalaatacciyaa, zungureeriyaa,
he buy certain car damaged long
+Asp.

tsoohuwaa, faraa.

old white.

= "He has bought a car, which, among other things, is
damaged, long, old, (and) white."

b. Yaa sayi watã mootaã faraa, laalaatacciyaa,
He buy certain car white damaged
+Asp.

tsoohuwaa, zungureeriyaa

old long

= "He has bought a car, which, among other things, is white,
damaged, old (and) long"

c. Yaa sayi watã mootaã tsoohuwaa, faraa, laalaatacciyaa,
He buy certain car old white damaged
+Asp.

zungureeriyaa.

long

= "He has bought a car, which, among other things, is old,
white, damaged, (and) long"

d. Yaa sayi watã mootaã zungureeriyaa, tsoohuwaa,
He buy certain car long old
+Asp.

laalaalacciyaa, faraa.

damaged white.

= "He has bought a car, which, among other things, is long,
old, damaged, (and) white"

Our task here is to determine why examples 1.a, 3.a and 5.a are acceptable, and 1.b, 2.b, 3.b-d, and 7.a-d are either doubtful or totally unacceptable, even though there is nothing grammatically wrong with them.

5.4. The unacceptability of 1.b, 3.b, 5.b-d and 7.b-d seems at first to be due to their non-compliance with a simple phonetic rule of Hausa which specifies that where no priority is attached to any one of the adjectives premodifying a single noun head, the longer adjectives should precede the shorter ones. (For the operation of this rule, the relative length of the adjectives is to be judged according to the number of syllables they each have.)

This rule seems indeed to account for the acceptability of 1.a, 3.a, and 5.a and for the apparent infelicity of the b, c and d sentences. It is not adequate for 7.a, however. The doubtful acceptability of 7.a strikes us as being probably due as much to the quantity of the premodifying adjectives as to their relative lengths.

Examples 5.a and 7.a are identical except in the quantity of the premodifiers: the latter has one adjective more than the former. Therefore the difference in the acceptability rating of 7.a may well be related to the fact that it has more premodifiers than 5.a. If this is the case, then we must conclude that there is a limitation on the number of adjectives that may felicitously co-occur in preposition: the different ratings of 5.a and 7.a suggest that three is the maximum number that may be used in this way.²

The existence of this restriction seems also to suggest that it is almost equal in status to the phonetic rule stated above. It may in fact be regarded as being more important since there are occasions when considerations of adjective length are not crucial for the ^{normal} ordering of preposed adjectives - for instance, where all the adjectives have relatively the same length. Consider the ordering of saaboo (new, masc.), farii (white) and babba (big) in 9 - 12 and of saabuwaa (new, fem.) and kaatuwaa (huge, voluminous) in 13 - 15 below: -

- 9 a. babba-n fari-n dookin^hsa
 big white horse-his
 = "His big, white horse"
- b. *farin babban dookin^hsa
 white big horse-his
 = *"His white big horse"
- 10 a. saabo-n fari-n wandoo
 new white trouser
 = "(a) new white (pair of) trousers"
- b. *fari-n saabo-n wandoo
 white new trouser
 = "* (a) white new (pair of) trousers"
- 11 a. babba-n saabo-n garii
 big new town
 = "a big new town"

- b. *saabo-n bàbba-n gàrìi
 ="*a new big town"
- 12 a. bàbba-n saabo-n fari-n kwaanò
 big new white bowl-the
 = "the big new white bowl"
- b. *saabo-n bàbba-n fari-n kwaanò-n
 new big white bowl-the
 ="the new big white bowl"
- c. *fari-n bàbba-n saabo-n kwaanò-n
 white big new bowl-the
 ="*the white big new bowl"
- d. *fari-n saabo-n bàbba-n kwaanò-n
 white new big bowl-the
 ="*the white new big bowl"
- 13 a. kaatuwa-r saabuwa-r riigaa
 voluminous new gown
 ="a voluminous new gown"
- b. *saabuwa-r kaatuwa-r riigaa
 new voluminous gown
 =" ? a new voluminous gown"
- 14 a. Naa sayi kaatuwa-r saabuwa-r fara-r riigaa
 I buy voluminous new white gown
 +Asp.
 ="I have bought a voluminous, new, white gown"

b. *Naa sayi saabuwa-r kaatuwa-r fara-r riigaa.

I buy new voluminous white gown
+Asp

= "I have bought a new, voluminous, white gown"

c. *Naa sayi saabuwa-r fara-r kaatuwa-r riigaa

I buy new white voluminous gown
+Asp

= "I have bought a new, white, voluminous gown"

15 a. Yaa bàr masù wani laalaataccen kaato-n

He leave them certain damaged big
+Asp

baki-n gidaa

black house

= "He left them a damaged, big, black house

b. * Yaa bàr masù wani laalaatacce-n baki-n

he leave them certain damaged black
+Asp

kaato-n gidaa

big house

= "He left them a damaged, black, big house"

c. *Yaa bàr masù wani baki-n laalaatacce-n

he leave them certain black damaged
+Asp

kaato-n gidaa.

big house

= "He left them a black, damaged, big house"

The inadequacy of this rule is clearly demonstrated by the fact only a few of the examples are acceptable. If adjective length is decisive in these sequences, most of them should be acceptable. Notice further that the examples contain the same number of adjectives, so the unacceptability of the b, and c sequences cannot be attributed to this factor. We therefore have to look for an alternative explanation.

5.4.1.

We may here refer to the fact that a similar problem of adjective ordering in pre-position has been observed in other languages, notably English. Several attempts have been made to account for this problem (e.g. Whorf 1945, Vendler 1965, Fries 1952, Danks and Glucksberg 1971, Danks and Schwenk, 1972, etc.) but the explanation that is most commonly given for it is that the adjectives are ordered according to what attributes they denote: 'general' or 'specific'. Thus, according to Whorf (1945) the group of (English) adjectives "referring to 'inherent' qualities - including colour, material, physical state (solid, liquid, porous, hard, etc.) provenience, breed, nationality, function, use - has the reactance of being placed nearer the noun than the other group, which we may call one of non-inherent qualities, though it is rather the residuum outside the first group - including adjectives of size, shape, position, evaluation (ethical, esthetic, or economic). These come before the inherent group, e.g. large red house (not red large house), steep rocky hill, nice smooth floor (p. 108) ..."

This explanation seems to be quite plausible, as it can be used to account for the ordering of a good many adjective sequences

in English and other languages. It has certain shortcomings, however. For instance, as observed by Crystal (1972, 131), in the phrase small round pink face it is difficult to tell which attribute is the most important feature of face. Is it its smallness, its rotundity, or its pinkness? The answer seems to depend entirely on the perception of individual speakers. But as far as the ordering of the adjectives is concerned there is no choice. Whatever adjective we take to denote the central attribute of face, the order remains the same - hence *pink round small face and *round small pink face are not acceptable. The normal or expected order may be disturbed only if we want to single out one of the adjectives in the sequence, e.g.:

16. I mean the man with the PINK round face (... not the man with BROWN round face)
17. I mean the man with the ROUND small pink face (... not the man with the TRIANGULAR small pink face)

In these two sentences the speaker is in each case singling out a particular attribute of face by putting extra intonational emphasis on it. For this reason the adjective so emphasized may come first in the sequence, whatever its normal position elsewhere.

Another drawback of Whorf's hypothesis, is the fact that it provides no clue as to the correct ordering of adjectives belonging to one or the other of the two sub-classes he posited. That is, suppose we have a sequence of two or more "inherent" adjectives,

and a similar sequence of "non-inherent" adjectives. How do we go about ordering them behind the noun head? For example, brown and wooden are "inherent" in Whorf's sense. But whereas a brown wooden spoon is acceptable, * a wooden brown spoon is not. Also, big and round are "non-inherent" in Whorf's framework. But whereas a big round building is acceptable, * a round big building is not. These suggest that the inherent - non-inherent distinction proposed by Whorf is inadequate for accounting for adjective ordering in English.

It also seems inadequate for Hausa. The unacceptability of all the b, c and d sequences in examples 1 - 15 above suggest that Hausa too has a 'fixed' or expected order for adjectives. A close examination of these and other examples in our data reveals a consistent tendency for all the adjectives that may occur in pre-position to be ordered according to what "quality" they individually denote not merely according to whether they are inherent or non-inherent.

Thus in (1-15) above the relative order of the adjectives may be presented as follows: -

1. a. (det.) - size - colour - N
3. a. (det.) - size - colour - N
5. a. (det.) - size - age - colour - N
7. a. (det.) - general - size - age - colour - N
9. a. (det.) - size - colour - N
11. a. (det.) - size - age - N
12. a. (det.) - size - age - colour - N

13. a. (det.) - size - age - N
14. a. (det.) - size - age - N
15. a. (det.) - result - size - colour - N.

These reveal five possible sequences, viz.: -

- | | |
|-----|----------------------------------------------|
| I | det - size - colour - N (1.a, 3.a, 9.a) |
| II | det - size - age - N (11.a, 12.a, 13.a) |
| III | det - age - colour - N (10.a) |
| IV | det - general - size - colour - N (15.a) |
| V | det - general - size - age - colour - N (7a) |

These five sequences in turn give us sequence VI: -

- VI (det./dim. - general - result - size - age - colour - N)
NP

as the general or preferred order of adjectives in pre-position.

That is to say, in stacking adjectives prenominally 'colour'

adjectives are generally placed last in the sequence, preceded

by "age" adjectives, which in turn may be preceded by 'size' adjectives.

All of these are then preceded by adjectives of "result" or adjectives

denoting "general" qualities. Finally, these are preceded by

determiners or diminutives or an appropriate combination of both

of them.

The adjectives used in our fifteen examples are some of the commonest in the language. They are morphologically 'simple' and 'central' (see 2.4). So their ordering may be regarded as typical in Hausa. There are, however, a few other 'central' adjectives,

which are not represented in the examples, but which seem to be subject to the same order restrictions as the others. These include such adjectives of "taste/smell" as dàddaadaa, zàzzaakaa, wàwwaaraa, etc. These normally precede "result" and thus follow "general" adjectives, c.f. (16-23) below: -

16. dàddaada-n maagàni
 sweetened medicine

17. kyàkkyawa-n maagàni
 beautiful medicine
 = "an efficacious drug"

18. kyàkkyawa-n dàddaada-n maagàni
 beautiful sweetened medicine
 = "an efficacious sweet drug"

19. ?* dàddaada-n kyàkkyawa-n maagàni
 sweetened beautiful medicine
 = ? a sweet efficacious drug

20. kyàkkyawa-n saabo-n maagàni
 = "an efficacious new drug"

21. dàddaada-n saabo-n maagàni
 = "a sweet new drug"

22. kyàkkyawa-n dàddaada-n saabo-n maagàni
 ="an efficacious sweet new drug"

23. ?* dàddaada-n kyàkkyawa-n saabon maagàni
 = "a sweet efficacious new drug"

We may therefore extend our order pattern VI to include such adjectives of taste / smell as follows: -

VII [det.- dim.- gen. - taste / smell - result - size -
 age - colour - N] ,
 NP

where "det." = determiner, "dim." - diminutive,

"gen." = general, and N = noun head.

5.5.

Our intuitions about the preferred ordering of Hausa adjectives in pre-position are confirmed by the responses of our informants to similar premodifying sequences as (1-23) above which were presented to them in the Preference Tests (batteries I, II, and III (Test One) and IV (Test Two)). The detailed results for all the tests are presented in the Tabular Appendices (Appendix B tables 1-9). Here we will consider only a few of the examples used. As can be seen from both the group "bad" and total "bad" scores for Battery I sentences (table 1) the subjects consistently rated sequences in which "size" adjectives precede "colour" adjectives higher than those in which they do not. See particularly the scores for examples (4-8). Note also that the scores for 2a,b clearly demonstrate that where "size and "age" adjectives co-occur, the former should precede the latter; 1.a also shows that where "age" and "colour" adjectives co-occur, the former should also precede the latter.

Similar judgements were obtained with respect to Batt. II and Batt. III sentences (tables 2 & 3 respectively) containing three and four premodifiers respectively. That is, the examples with the lowest

negative ratings are those which are ordered according to the rule schema presented above.

There are a few instances, however, where the sentences which were judged acceptable by the informants may appear to violate the ordering rule, e.g. Batt. II (10, 11, 13 and 14). This is not the case, however. Example (10) is preferred by the informants to (11, 13 and 14) for cultural reasons: m̂anya-m̂anya is grammatically the plural form of b̂abba; consequently they interpreted manyà-m̂anya-n riigunaa in (10) as a compound nominal whose first member is an adjective and which functions as a whole as the plural form of the condensed compound b̂abba-r riigaa, the designation of a well-known garment worn commonly by the Hausa. In other words, they analysed the phrase as

$$\left[\left[\left[\left[\text{m̂anya-m̂anya-(n)} \right]_A \quad \text{riigunaa} \right]_N \right]_N \right]_{NP}, \text{ rather than}$$

simply

$$\left[\left[\left[\text{m̂anya-m̂anya-(n)} \right]_A \quad \left[\text{riigunaa} \right]_N \right] \right]_{NP}$$

In this analysis, therefore, there is no order violation in sentence (10); the colour adjective jaajaayee may be said to be appropriately located at the head of the premodifiers in the sentence. In sentences (11), (13) and (14) (example 12 is opposed to example 9 - hence its score), however, there is no ambiguity about the connection of m̂anya-m̂anyaa to riigunaa: the former is the adjectival modifier, whilst the latter is the head - hence the varied location of m̂anya-m̂anyaa in the sentences. Note also that riigunaa does not refer to any

specific garment in these examples. Of these three examples, only (11) may be said to conform with the ordering rule - hence it receives a lower negative score than the other two.

Observe further that even though (13) is deviant in regard to the ordering of jaa[^]jaayee, it receives a higher rating than (14) (which is 'better' order-wise) because it was presented with extra intonational emphasis over the whole NP. The subjects response thus indicates, as expected, that intonation can be made to outrank normal order restrictions in premodification. In other words, the normal adjective order may be inverted only if one of the adjectives in the string is deliberately singled out to indicate that priority is being attached to the attribute it denotes. In this way, the adjective concerned is emphasized i.e. is articulated with greater force than the rest to indicate that the ordering rule is being relaxed in accordance with the pragmatic demands of the communication situation (c.f. 4.2, IV).

5.5.1.

Given these results we predicted that if the subjects were to be presented with a set of adjectives denoting "size", "colour"; "age", etc. and request them to order them all preminally, they would most probably order the "size" before the "age" adjectives, the 'general' before 'taste' and 'size' ^{and} finally place the whole lot before the "colour" adjectives. In this way they should produce sequences that would be consonant with our earlier impressions and with the results of the preference tests.

Section C, Test Five (the Completion Test) was designed to test this assumption. As explained in Chapter 3, however, only a few

informants were able to participate in this part of the experiments. Furthermore, few of the responses were valid. In spite of these drawbacks the responses we had provide interesting insight into the subjects own use of adjectival modifiers, as distinct from their judgement of other people's use of same. The sequences they produced also seem to confirm our views. Some variations were noticed here, however, probably due to the smaller number and types of adjectives they were asked to use. Thus when they were given the sentence:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Yaa} \quad \text{baani} \quad \dots \quad \text{riigaa} \\ \text{S} \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{S} \end{array} \right]$$

and the following set of adjectives - tsoohuwaa ("age") huujajjiyaa ("result"), kaatuwaa ("size") bakaa ("colour"), ta leeshii ("material") saakakkiyaa ("result") and mai kyau ("general") - to use to fill in the blanks as appropriate, the subjects produced the following sequences:

$$\text{A.} \quad \text{Two modifiers before N, or} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Adj.} \qquad \qquad \qquad + \text{N} \\ \dots \quad n = 2 \\ \text{NP} \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$$

1. (i) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Age} \quad + \text{colour} \\ \text{A} \end{array} \right] + \text{N} \left[\text{NP} \right] = 9 \text{ occurrence(s)}$
- (ii) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Size} \quad + \text{colour} \\ \text{A} \end{array} \right] + \text{N} \left[\text{NP} \right] = 6 \quad "$
- (iii) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Result} \quad + \text{colour} \\ \text{A} \end{array} \right] + \text{N} \left[\text{NP} \right] = 4 \quad "$
- (iv) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Age} \quad + \text{colour} \\ \text{A} \end{array} \right] + \text{N} \left[\text{NP} \right] = 3 \quad "$
- (v) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Size} \quad + \text{age} \\ \text{A} \end{array} \right] + \text{N} \left[\text{NP} \right] = 1 \quad "$
- (vi) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Age} \quad + \text{size} \\ \text{A} \end{array} \right] + \text{N} \left[\text{NP} \right] = 1 \quad "$
- (vii) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Result} \quad + \text{size} \\ \text{A} \end{array} \right] + \text{N} \left[\text{NP} \right] = 1 \quad "$

B. Three modifiers before N, or $NP \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Adj.} \\ \dots n = 3 + N \end{array} \right]_{NP}$,

where one of them is a "colour" adjective

2. (i) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Age} + \text{result} + \text{colour} \end{array} \right]_A + N \Big|_{NP} = 7 \text{ occurrence(s)}$
 (ii) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Age} + \text{size} + \text{colour} \end{array} \right]_A + N \Big|_{NP} = 3 \quad "$
 (iii) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Result} + \text{size} + \text{colour} \end{array} \right]_A + N \Big|_{NP} = 2 \quad "$
 (iv) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Result} + \text{age} + \text{colour} \end{array} \right]_A + N \Big|_{NP} = 1 \quad "$
 (v) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Result} + \text{result} + \text{colour} \end{array} \right]_A + N \Big|_{NP} = 1 \quad "$
 (vi) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Size} + \text{result} + \text{colour} \end{array} \right]_A + N \Big|_{NP} = 1 \quad "$

C. Four modifiers before N, or $NP \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Adj.} \\ \dots n = 4 + N \end{array} \right]_{NP}$,

where one of them is a "colour" adjective:

3. (i) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Size} + \text{result} + \text{age} + \text{colour} \end{array} \right]_A + N \Big|_{NP} = 2$
 (ii) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Age} + \text{result} + \text{size} + \text{colour} \end{array} \right]_A + N \Big|_{NP} = 2$
 (iii) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Age} + \text{size} + \text{result} + \text{colour} \end{array} \right]_A + N \Big|_{NP} = 1$
 (iv) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Size} + \text{result} + \text{result} + \text{colour} \end{array} \right]_A + N \Big|_{NP} = 1$

D. Five adjectives before N, or $NP \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Adj.} \\ \dots n = 5 + N \end{array} \right]_{NP}$

of which one is a "colour" adjective

4. (i) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{result + age} \quad + \text{result + size} \quad + \text{colour} \end{array} \right]_A + N_{NP} = 1$
 (ii) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{age} \quad + \text{result + size} \quad + \text{result + colour} \end{array} \right]_A + N_{NP} = 2$
 (iii) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{size} \quad + \text{colour + result + age} \quad + \text{result} \end{array} \right]_A + N_{NP} = 1$
 (iv) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{age} \quad + \text{colour + result + result + size} \end{array} \right]_A + N_{NP} = 1$

Notice the progressive decrease in the number of successful completions as we move from A-D. This may be a reflection of the growing difficulty of the task, or of the subjects inability or unwillingness to produce premodifying sequences which are at variance with their own normal usage. One informant in fact modified his entry for C to read "Yaa baani wata irin kaatùwa-s saàkakkiya-b baka-r riigaa" (= "he gave me a certain type of large, hand-woven, black gown"), which is perfectly acceptable despite the unsolicited increase in the length of the premodifying sequence. In support of this explanation is the fact that virtually all those who attempted this test appeared to have had no difficulty in completing the A and B sentences with the given modifiers arranged in the correct order. Their success in this respect seems to confirm our earlier suggestion that it is possible to use up to three adjectives to premodify nouns, that anything exceeding that number would most probably sound forced and / or unnatural.

This is not to suggest that four or more adjectives cannot be used to specify a head noun in preposition. The first two entries for C and D in fact show that this is quite feasible, depending on the criteria needed to specify the referent of a particular noun properly. This sort of usage is rare, however. For this reason the

subjects inability to comply with our instructions, and the uncertainty displayed by the few who were brave enough to complete this section of the test are quite understandable: it is perhaps not easy to produce premodifying sequences that are theoretically possible, but which one knows to be unusual or not in accord with one's everyday usage.

The subjects judgement of the strings of premodifiers in (Test 2, IV) further illustrate this point. Their divergent reactions (see various scores in table 7) to these sequences seem to match the uncertainty they later on displayed when ordering the five adjectives they were asked to use in D in the completion test. This seems to indicate that native speakers vary not only in their attitude towards others using such sequences but also towards their own use of them. Some subjects disapproval of (2. iv) sentences (verbalised in the course of the experiment with such expressions as "Kai!" or "too long!") and difficulty in doing the C and D sentences may thus be attributable to the same factor: the rareness and unnaturalness of such usage.³ In support of this view is the fact that sequences containing four or more premodifying adjectives are hard to come by even in Hausa writing. Nothing we were able to find in written Hausa contains more than three adjectives in sequence, (cf. (38) and (39) in Chapter 4 above. Some of the test sentences we have ourselves constructed (e.g. Batt. III and Batt. IV) are only theoretically possible, and not actually heard.

The evidence provided by the completion test was thus not inconsistent with our own intuitions about the limitation on the number of adjectives in pre-position. It also seems to lend strong support to our own ideas about the correct ordering of adjective strings in pre-position. Notice that there is a slight variation in the subjects ordering of 'non-colour' adjectives, that is, they seem to be a little more flexible in their ordering of all except the colour adjectives. We do not see this as necessarily conflicting with our own assumptions, however. The difference seems to be due to the smaller number and types of adjectives they were asked to use for the purposes of the test.

5.6 Having established that adjectives in pre-position are ordered according to what 'quality' they denote, we go on to present in table 1, a number of preposed adjective sequences and other premodifiers to reflect general order preferences in Hausa. (Literal translations for the examples used in the table may be given as follows:

1. "A cursed, big, black woman"
2. "A (funny-looking) lame school teacher"
3. "A lazy, old woman"
4. "A beautiful, moderate-sized, white girl"
5. "A huge, black boy"
6. "An ugly, big, white race horse"
7. "These mad, little / junior labourers"
8. "That damaged / unserviceable, long, old, red car"

Deter- miners	Dimi- natives	general	taste / smell	result	size	age	colour	head	noun
1 wata				tsinanniya-r	kaatuwa-r		baka-r	maataa	
2 wani	dan			shaagi'dadde-n				maalamin	makarantaa
3 wata		ma'laa'laaciya-r				tsoochuwa-r		mace	
4 wata	'yar	kyakkyaaawa-r					fara-r	yaari'nyaa	
5 wani				shirgeege-n			baki-n	yaaroo	
6 wani		mu'mu'uuna-n		kaato-n			fari-n	dooki-n	sukuwaa
7 wadannan		maha'ukata-n		kanaana-n				lee'bu'roori	
8 wancan				laa'laatacciya-r	zungu'reeriya-r	tsoochuwa-r	ja-r	moota-r	
9 wadansu	'yan				ga'jeeru-n		fara'are-n	muta'ane	
10 wani			da'ddaada-n			saabo-n		ma'gani-n	mura
11 wani			wa'wa'ara-n				baki-n	mai	
12 wani					babba-n	saabo-n	fari-n	gadaa	
13 wata				saakakkiya-r	ji'bggegiya-r	saabuwa-r	kooriya-r	ri'igaa	
14 wata				kaatu'war			fara-r	hu'laa	
15 wasu		mu'na'afuka-n		koora'rru-n	man'ya-man'ya-n	tsoo'afifi-n		ma'aikataa	
16 wancan		ma'tsooraciya-r			kan'kanuwa-r		baka-r	maata-r	
17 wannan		danda'kan		ya'agage-n	tsoo'ho-n			tsu'mma-n	
18 wata			za'za'aka-r						
19 wasu		siira'ara-n					fara-r	ala'awa	
20 wani		ga'a'wurtacce-n					baka'ake-n	sandu'naa	
21 wata	'yar				siiri'iriya-r	saabuwa-r	ja-n	tsuntsuu	
		etc.		etc.				ki'laaki	

TABLE I Examples of Premodification Sequence.

9. "Some shortish, white, people"
10. "A delicious, new catarrh drug"
11. "A smelly, black oil"
12. "A big, new, white bridge"
13. "A voluminous / an outsize, new, yellow gown"
14. "A hand-woven, big, white cap"
15. "Some / certain, untrustworthy, dismissed, senior, old
civil servants"
16. "That cowardly, small, black lady"
17. "This grubby, torn, old rag"
18. "A sweet, white candy"
19. "Some thin, black sticks"
20. "An impressive, red bird"
21. "A skinny, new harlot").

5.6.1 As earlier demonstrated in (4.2 (d)) and (5.41) it is possible to set aside the normal order of the adjectives in order to make one of them more prominent, or to indicate a contrast. For example, in (24 - 6) saabo, kaatùwaa and bakaa are assigned priority over the other adjectives by moving them to the beginning of the sequences and accenting them more heavily than in their normal position:

24. dàddaada-n saabo-n maagàni \longrightarrow
'SAABO-n dàddaada-n maagàni
25. saàkakkiya-r kaatùwa-r fara-r huulaa \longrightarrow
'KAATÙWA-r fara-r saàkakkiya-r huulaa.

26. kàṅkanùwa-r baka-r màcè —————→
 'BAKA-r kàṅkanùwa-r màcè.

(c.f. also (5-8) examples 42 + 43).

We may also add here that even though the order patterns presented in the table reflect the preferences of quite a large number of native speakers of Hausa, they must not be regarded as absolute. We must allow for the possibility that others may vary, though this seems unlikely. But if they do vary at all, they will most probably only differ from us in their attitude toward some of the sequences containing stacked adjectives. That is, they may regard some of them as "too long" (as some of our informants responded to similar sequences in the preference tests, see 5.4), but we will not expect them to judge the examples as ill-formed or ungrammatical.

5.7. The ordering of adjectives and other noun modifiers postnominally is subject to far fewer restrictions than their ordering prenominally. For instance, there is no requirement that they be ordered according to their semantic properties or syllable quantity.
 c.f. 24 - 34 (also 2, 4, 6, 8 above):

24. Yaa sàyi mootàa bakaa, zungureeriyaa
 he buy car black long / luxurious
 +Asp.
 = 'He has bought a car, which is black and long'

25. Yaa baani riigaa faraa saabuwa
 he give-me gown white new
 +Asp.
 = 'He gave me a gown, which is white and new'

26. Yaa baani riigaa faraa kumà saabuwa

He give-me gown white also new
+ Asp.

= 'He has given me a gown, which is, incidentally, white
as well as new!

27. Ka sawò man riigaa, bakaa koo jaa
You buy me gown, black or red
= 'Buy me a gown, black or red'

28. Gaa shi kaatoo ammaa gajeeree
See him big yet short
= 'He is huge yet short'

29. Assàlaamù alaikùm jama'aa, mazaa dà maataa, yaàraa
Peace to-you people male and female young
dà manyaa
and adult
= 'Peace be upon you people, male and female, young and old'

30. Wannàn littaa^{fii} yaa kunshì hikaayoo^{yii} darii, gàjèjjeeruu,
this book it enclose tales 100 short
+Asp.
maasu ma'anaa, fadakarwaa dà farantaawaa
meaningful cautioning and pleasing
= 'This book contains a hundred tales, which are short,
meaningful, instructive and pleasing.'

31. Naa sàyi riigaa faraa, saabuwa, bàbba, ta leeshii,
I buy gown white new big of lace
+ Asp.
wadda ta fi karfiinaa.
which it surpass strength-my.

= 'I have bought a gown, (which is) white, new, big, lacey,
(and) which is too big for me'

32. Naa sàyi riigaa faraa, saabuwa, bàbba, mai tsaadàn tsiyaa,
I buy gown white new big has expense excess
+ Asp.

waddà akà yi à Kano baarà

which one do in Kano last-year

= 'I have bought a gown, (which is) white, new, big,
extremely expensive, (and) which was made in Kano
last year'

c.f.

33. Naa sàyi riigaa faraa, saabuwa, bàbba, tà leshii, mai aikii,
waddà akà yi à Kano baarà.

= 'I have bought a gown, (which is) white, new, big, made
of lace, (which is) embroidered, (and) which was made in
Kano last year'

34. Naa sàyi wàndoo na leeshii, saaboo, bàbba, farii.

= 'I have bought a pair of trousers made of lace, (which is)
new, big, (and) white'

Apart from demonstrating that adjectives in post-position are
freely ordered, these examples also reveal other interesting facts.
They reveal, for example, that connectives like kuma ('also') koo
(('or')), amma ('but' / 'yet'), dà ('and') may be used here, whereas
they are not allowed by the grammar in pre-position. Similarly
relative clauses, whether restrictive or non-restrictive, as well as

a number of adjectival compounds formed by prefixing màì- or na-/ta- to a noun, etc. may also occur here. These add to the flexibility in the ordering of the modifiers. (See chapter six)

But they may also make clarity harder to attain. As indicated in (33) and (34) it is sometimes not easy to tell which noun a particular modifier is related to in a postmodifying sequence, especially where adjectives of material ~~or~~ (na/ta - N) or (mai - N) constructions are involved. Thus in (33), is it riigaa or leeshii that is being modified by màì aikii and waddà akà yi à Kanò baarà? Similarly, in (34), is it wandoo or leeshii that is being modified by saaboo, farii and bàbba?

One way out of the difficulty is to move na / ta leeshii to the final position, e.g.:

35. Naa sàyi wàndoo saaboo, farii, bàbba, kumà nà leeshii.

36. Naa sàyi riigaa faraa, saabuwaa, bàbba, ta leeshii.

In this way all the adjectives are brought under the dominance of a single noun. But it must be emphasized that the movement of na/ta leeshii to final position is done only for our own convenience. It is not intended to suggest that this is its 'normal' position, for we have no evidence from other people's usage that this is the case (see 5.8). Such ambiguities as exemplified by (33) and (34) are inescapable given the flexible ordering of the postmodifiers.

5.7.1. As argued in (4.2) above adjectives in post-position are

generally less precise semantically than those in pre-position and very often tend to do no more than provide further information about their head. In many cases of post-position the head is independently identified - hence the implication of optionality, even of afterthought, associated with many postmodifying sequences in the language. Consequently it is not possible to restrict the number of modifiers that may be used in post-position. For instance, the reason why we do not frequently come across such a sentence as 37,

37. Naa sàyi bàbbar riigaa, faraa, saabuwaa, ta leeshii, mài askaa takwàs, waddà akà yi à Kanò baarà, mài tsaadaa, mài kwarjiniì dà òukàn idò, gaa kumà taushii dà saukin wankii...

? I bought a bàbbar riigaa which is white, new, made of lace, has distinguished embroidery, which was made in Kano last year, expensive, distinguished and radiant, soft and easily washable...

is not because they are ungrammatical but simply because they are seldom necessary in spoken discourse. In other words, their occurrence is constrained only by performance factors, - they will obviously be hard to articulate fully, and will probably sound odd, if not unnatural, to the hearer. There is otherwise no reason why we should not string as many, if not more, modifiers postnominally, given the open-endedness inherent in the mostmodification process.

5.7.2. In order to verify our claim that adjectival modifiers are ordered freely in post-position, that unlike in preposition there is no ordering rule governing their use, we required our informants to postmodify riḡa in the following frame

S [Yaa baani riḡaa]_S

with two, three, four or more of the modifiers they had earlier used to premodify it in A-D above.⁴ The sequences they produced are quite revealing and seem to corroborate our claim.

They are presented in three sets,⁵ E-G., according to the number of modifiers the subjects had employed to derive the various surface orders.

E. Two modifiers after N or NP [N + Adj. ...n = 2] NP

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|---------|---|---------|---|-----------------|-----------------|
| (1) | [N | + | colour | + | general |] | _A NP | = 5 occurrences |
| (2) | [N | + | colour | + | result |] | _A NP | = 2 " |
| (3) | [N | + | result | + | general |] | _A NP | = 5 " |
| (4) | [N | + | size | + | general |] | _A NP | = 5 " |
| (5) | [N | + | general | + | general |] | _A NP | = 5 " |
| (6) | [N | + | general | + | colour |] | _A NP | = 3 " |
| (7) | [N | + | age | + | general |] | _A NP | = 1 " |
| (8) | [N | + | size | + | result |] | _A NP | = 1 " |

$$(9) \left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{age} + \text{result} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = \frac{1}{28} \text{ occurrences}$$

F. Three modifiers after N, or $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} + \text{Adj.} \\ \dots n = 3 \end{array} \right]_{\text{NP}}$

- (1) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{N} \end{array} + \text{colour} + \text{general} + \text{age} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1 \text{ occurrences}$
- (2) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{colour} + \text{size} + \text{general} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 2 \quad "$
- (3) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{colour} + \text{general} + \text{general} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 3 \quad "$
- (4) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{age} + \text{colour} + \text{result} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 2 \quad "$
- (5) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{size} + \text{general} + \text{general} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1 \quad "$
- (6) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{size} + \text{colour} + \text{general} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1 \quad "$
- (7) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{age} + \text{colour} + \text{general} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 2 \quad "$
- (8) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{age} + \text{general} + \text{general} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1 \quad "$
- (9) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{result} + \text{colour} + \text{general} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1 \quad "$
- (10) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{general} + \text{colour} + \text{general} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 2 \quad "$
- (11) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{age} + \text{general} + \text{colour} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1 \quad "$
- (12) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{age} + \text{result} + \text{colour} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 2 \quad "$
- (13) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{colour} + \text{age} + \text{result} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1 \quad "$
- (14) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{general} + \text{size} + \text{result} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1 \quad "$
- (15) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{A} \end{array} + \text{result} + \text{colour} + \text{age} \right] \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1 \quad "$

- (13) $\left[\left[\text{N} + \text{size} + \text{col.} + \text{res.} + \text{res.} + \text{age} + \text{gen.} \right]_{\text{A}} \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1$
- (14) $\left[\left[\text{N} + \text{mat.} + \text{col.} + \text{size} + \text{age} + \text{res.} + \text{gen.} \right]_{\text{A}} \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1$
- (15) $\left[\left[\text{N} + \text{gen.} + \text{col.} + \text{age} + \text{res.} + \text{res.} + \text{size} \right]_{\text{A}} \right]_{\text{NP}} = 2$
- (16) $\left[\left[\text{N} + \text{age} + \text{res.} + \text{size} + \text{col.} + \text{mat.} + \text{gen.} \right]_{\text{A}} \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1$
- (17) $\left[\left[\text{N} + \text{res.} + \text{size} + \text{gen.} + \text{col.} + \text{res.} + \text{gen.} \right]_{\text{A}} \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1$
- (18) $\left[\left[\text{N} + \text{res.} + \text{mat.} + \text{col.} + \text{size} + \text{gen.} \right]_{\text{A}} \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1$
- (19) $\left[\left[\text{N} + \text{res.} + \text{mat.} + \text{col.} + \text{res.} + \text{gen.} \right]_{\text{A}} \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1$
- (20) $\left[\left[\text{N} + \text{res.} + \text{gen.} + \text{mat.} + \text{res.} + \text{size} + \text{col.} \right]_{\text{A}} \right]_{\text{NP}} = 1$
- etc. etc. etc.

These sequences are only a sample of what is possible, and cannot, therefore, be regarded as exhaustive; for clearly one can still produce a few more to fill in the blanks in the frame sentence. It is evident even from the ones enumerated, however, that we were right in assuming that postnominal adjectives and other modifiers in Hausa are not ordered strictly according to their semantic or any other properties. None of the combinations recurred frequently enough to warrant calling it the "favourite" or basic pattern. A great majority of them occurred once only, suggesting that speakers string postmodifiers as they think of them, and as they wish. This absence of any real constraint on the ordering of postnominal modifiers is what in effect makes it possible for the various semantic classes of adjectives to be combined in that position - unlike in pre-position where this privilege is restricted only to a few adjective classes. It is also

what makes it possible for adjectives to be used in combination with other noun modifiers, like relative clauses, as we saw in 37 above. For examples of similar combinations, see 2,III (table 6), reproduced as 38-41 for convenience:

38. Naa sàyi riigaa faraa, saabuwa, bàbba, màì kyau,

I buy gown white new big has beauty

waddà akà saaroo daga Makkà baara.

which one purchase from Mecca last year

= 'I (have) bought (a) gown (which is) white, new, big, (and) beautiful, which was imported from Mecca last year'.

39. Naa sàyi riigaa faraa, saabuwa, bàbba, màì tsaadan

I bought gown white new big has dearneess

tsiyaa, waddà duk bàà irintà a garin.

extreme which all none like it in town-the

= 'I (have) bought a gown (which is) white, new, big, (which is) extremely dear, (and which is) unique in the town'.

40. Naa sàyi riigaa faraa, saabuwa, bàbba, ta leeshii,

I bought gown white new big of lace

waddà tafi karfii na.

which exceeds strength my

= 'I (have) bought a lace gown which is white, new, big, which is too big for me'.

41. Naa sàyi riigaa faraa, saabuwa, bàbba, ta leeshii,
 I bought gown white new big of lace

mai aikii, wadda aka yi a Kano baara.

has embroidering which one did in Kano last-year.

= 'I bought a lace gown, which is white, new, big, embroidered,
 (and) which was made in Kano last year.'

These examples may give the false impression that the modifiers are scaled according to whether they are simple adjectives, adjectival compounds or relative clauses, contrary to our claim above. This is, however not the case, for they can all be switched round. For instance, the non-restrictive relative clauses need not be sentence-final and can be moved to other locations in the postnominal sequence.

The important thing to notice, however, is that examples 37-41 and, more crucially the sequences produced by our informants all support us strongly in our view that postmodifiers are not ordered in Hausa in the way that premodifiers are ordered, that this difference derives solely from the fact that the two adjective forms have different formal-semantic characteristics, as explained in chapter 4.

It may be observed here that speakers of Hausa seem not only to be aware of this fact but also exploit it for purposes of communication. Recall our earlier remark about the paucity of examples in Hausa speech or writing containing two or more adjectives in preposition and how this seems to be related to the constraint on the quantity of adjectives that may be stacked prenominal - hence

the somewhat negative or ambivalent responses registered by our informants in respect to II and III sentences (tables 2 and 3 respectively, *Test One*), as well as IV (table 7). Examples (38) and (39), Chapter 4 above, are also a case in point. In fact many speakers were observed seem to prefer shorter sequences. The general tendency is for them to postpose most modifiers, using pre-position only if it is necessary to define N rigorously or to indicate which modifier is the most discriminating in the given context (c.f. 4.2, d). Compare

42. 'Saabuwa-r riigaa, faraa, saakakkiyaa

43. 'faraa²-r riigaa, saabuwaa, mai aikii

in which saabuwaa and faraa are pre-posed and strongly stressed⁶ to indicate that they are the most important attributes of riiga in 42 and in 43. The post-posed adjectives only provide supplementary information about riigaa in these two sequences and are disjunctive for this reason.⁷

The choice between pre-position and post-position thus seems to be contextually conditioned: the use of the one form rather than the other seems to depend entirely on the distinctions that the speaker wishes to make, on the aspects or qualities of the referent of N that he wishes to emphasize in a given context. The choice between them may therefore be said to be governed by a pragmatic-communication rule that is not unlike the one that enables English

speakers to invert the normal order of adjectives to highlight one of them.

For instance, if a speaker wishes to refer to one of two cars, one of them French, the other German, and both of them white, he would say,

44. The 'French white car

with stress emphasis on French, and not

45. the white French car

which is the "normal" order. He could also single out an adjective without necessarily inverting the normal order. For instance he could say

46. the 'white French car

with higher pitch on white, if there are two French cars, and he wishes to refer only to the one which is white. Speakers of English could thus single out the most discriminative adjective by intonation and word order change. The effects achieved by means of these strategies seem to be analogous to those achieved in Hausa by systematically pre-posing attributive adjectives. The details vary, but in each case the motivation of the adjective order change is pragmatic, not grammatical, suggesting that the conditions under which speakers may vary the normal order of adjectives are virtually the same in many languages.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

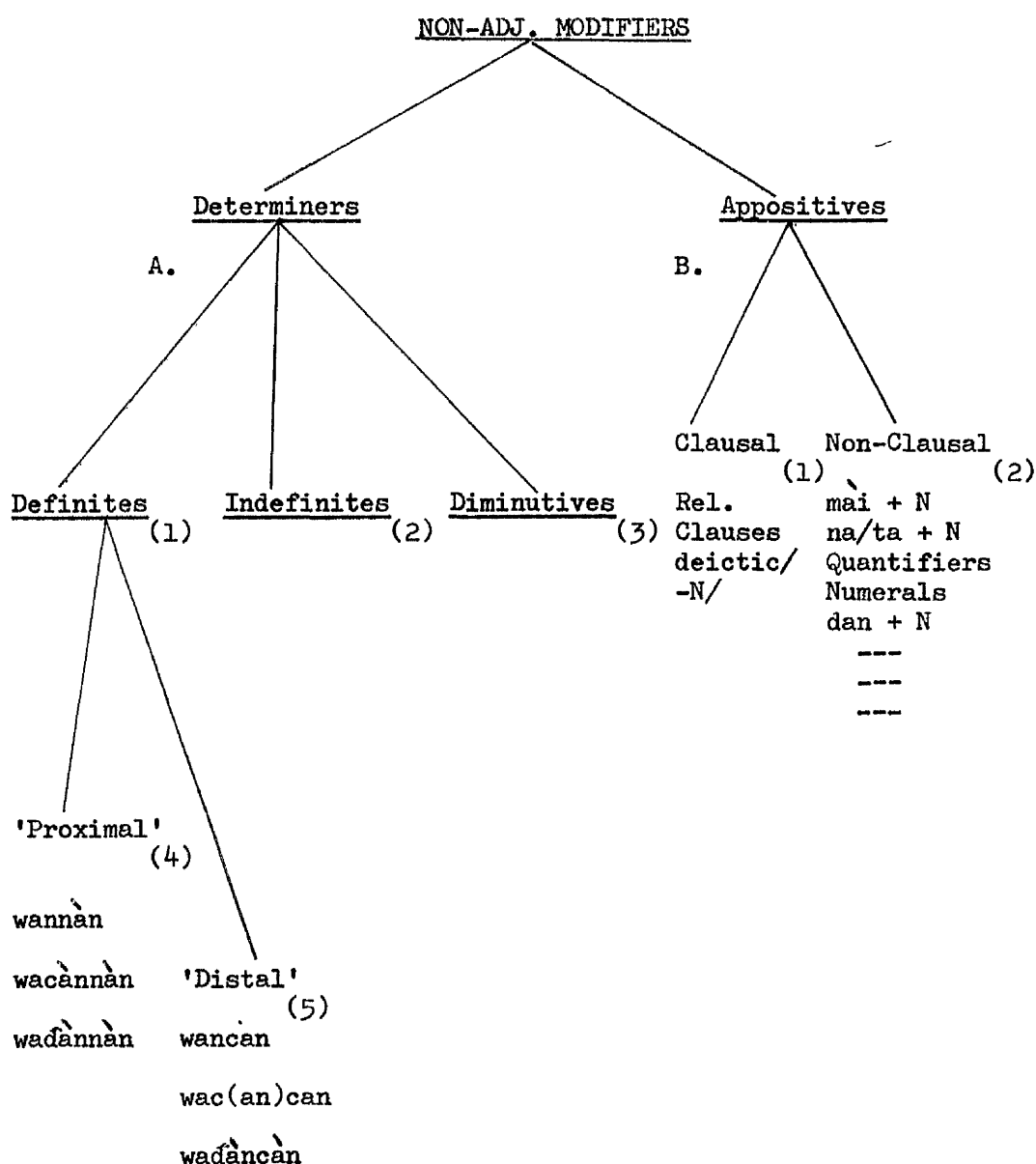
- 1) See tables 1 and 2, chapter 2 for details regarding the forms of the adjectives.
- 2) C.f. Galadanci (1969) who claims that a maximum of four modifiers in what is allowed in pre-position (p. 192)
- 3) Danks and Schwenk report similar reactions from English informants when presented with "three-adjective sentences". They found that such sentences were judged unacceptable "even when presented in normal order" (1971, p. 66).
- 4) Note that this section of the completion test also suffers from the same defect as the earlier one - i.e. not all the subjects were able to complete it. Nevertheless, the number of valid responses was appreciably and revealingly higher, suggesting that subjects found this task less artificial or difficult than the premodification task. We may therefore assume that the sequences they produced reflect their actual usage.
- 5) In this representation as in the previous one, "N" = head noun, "colour" = colour adjective, "possessive" = possessive adjective, "process" = process / participial adjective, "age" = age adjective, "size" = size adjective, and "material" = adj. denoting material.

For col(our)	→	bakaa	(black)
" gen(eral)	→	maikyau	(pretty)
" res(ult)	→	saakakkiyaa	(hand-woven) huujaajjiyaa (pierced)
" age	→	tsohuwaa	(old, f.)
" size	→	katuwaa	(huge/big)
" mat(erial)	→	ta leeshii	(lacey)
" N	→	riigaa	(gown)

- 6) That is, stronger than the normal stress that accompanies pre-nominal modifiers. Mingograms 25 and 26 (pp. 230-1) provide instrumental corroboration for this observation.
- 7) We are using "disjunctive" more broadly than Greenbaum (1968) to characterize any modifier that formally and semantically "stands apart" from the item that it modifies.

CHAPTER SIX: OTHER NOUN MODIFIERS

6.1. In this chapter we will briefly examine other (i.e. non-adjectival) noun modifiers in Hausa. Even though we are primarily concerned with noun modification by simple and complex adjectives in this thesis, it is important for us to devote some time to such modifiers, especially as they have cropped up several times in our discussion and often operate in conjunction with adjectives. I am proposing the following syntactic typology to account for their co-occurrence in Hausa utterances:



These items may function either alone or in combination with adjectives to modify a noun. In general the determiner classes A.1, A.2 and A.3 are confined to pre-position,¹ whilst the appositive classes B.1 and B.2 may occur only in post-position.

6.2. Observe that the three sets of determiners under (A) always correlate with the gender and number of the noun head, like adjectives, e.g. (1-3):

1. wancàn /wannàn /wani/dan yaaròo = that / this / a /tiny boy
2. waccàn /wacànnàn/wata/'ya-y yaarinyàa = that / this / a /tiny girl
3. wadàncàn/wadànnàn/wasu/'yan yàaraa = those/those/certain/tiny children

It goes without saying, however, that A.1 and A.2 items are semantically incompatible and cannot therefore co-occur:

4. * wancàn wani mùtù = * that a person (m)
5. * wani wancàn mùtù = * a that person
6. * wata wacànnàn maàtaa = * a this woman
7. * wadàncàn wasu yàaraa = * those certain kids

Similarly (4) and (5) ("proximal" and "distal" demonstratives are incompatible.

8. * wannàn wancàn gidaa = * this that house (m.)
9. * wacànnàn waccàn makarantaa = * this that school (f.)
10. * wadàncàn wadànnàn yàaraa = * those these kids.

But all the items in A.1 and A.2 may co-occur with diminutives in any order, i.e.: they may precede or follow them, e.g., sequences (11-13):

11. a. dan wani mutúm)
b. wani da-m mutúm) = a certain tiny man
12. a. "Nii zan auri dan wannàn yaarò-n?")
b. "Nii zan auri wannàn dan yaarò-n?") = "I am to marry this little boy?"
(..."God forbid")
13. a. "ya-w wacànnàn jaàka-r)
b. wacànnàn 'ya-j jaàka-r) = this tiny donkey (fem.)
etc.

Note also that it is often possible to delete the head noun when it is premodified by an indefinite determiner. But as with adjectives, the gender and number of the determiners usually provide formal clues for the determination of the deleted head nouns, e.g.:

14. Wani Ø yaa zoo = "some/a (male) (person) came"
 15. Wata Ø taa zoo = "a/some (female) (person) came"
 16. Wasu Ø sun zoo = "some (people) came"

Where the indefinite determiner occurs post-verbally or sentence
- finally, it tends to be ambiguous between a determiner and a
quantifier (7.32), e.g.:

17. Baa ni wani = Give me another/one (m.)
 18. Baa ni wata + Give me another/one (fem.)
 19. Kaaroo man wasu = Bring me some /more
 20. Naa ga $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wata} \\ \text{wani} \\ \text{wasu} \end{array} \right\} \emptyset \text{ jiyà dà yammà} = \text{I saw } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a certain/one} \\ \text{some /one} \end{array} \right\} \text{ N yesterday evening.}$

Demonstrative determiners may also appear without an accompanying head noun. The reason for the omission of the head noun in such cases is quite obvious: the object or person referred to is in the same spatio-temporal situation as the speaker and the hearer. E.g.,

21. a. Wannàn \emptyset bàa shi dà kyau = this (one here) is not good
 this Neg. he with beauty
 b. Wacànnàn \emptyset bàa ta dà kyau = this (one here) is not good
 this Neg. she with beauty
 c. Wadànnàn \emptyset bàa su dà kyau = these (ones here) are not good
 these Neg. they with beauty
22. a. Wancàn \emptyset yaa baa nì haushii
 that he gave me anger
 = 'that (one) annoyed me'
 b. Waccàn \emptyset taa baa nì haushii
 that she gave me anger
 = 'that (one) she gave me anger'
 c. Wadàncàn \emptyset sun baa nì haushii
 these they gave me anger
 = 'those (ones) annoyed me.'

c.f.

23. a. W^ˈannan / w^ˈancan Ø ya·gudu

this that he run

```
= 'that(particular) (boy) was the one who ran away'
      (
      (very      )

```

b. Wacànnan / wàccan Ø ta guɗu

this that she run

```
= 'that (very      ) (woman) was the one who ran away'
      (           )
      ( particular)
```

c. Wadannan / wadancan Ø suka gudu

these those they run

= 'Those (very) (people) were the ones who ran away'.
(
(particular)

In (21) sequences the referent of N is in the same location as the speaker / hearer. In (22) the referent of N is in a different location but within sight of the speaker / hearer. In (23), however, the referent of N is neither physically present nor within sight of the speaker / hearer, yet both know who / what is being referred to: it has been mentioned directly before, so the speaker deletes it in second mention. This important difference in the semantic interpretation of (21-22) on the one hand, and of (23) on the other, is marked formally. In the former set, the determiners are High Low or High Low Low, whereas in the latter they are Low High or High Low High in tone. Furthermore, the two sets of examples take different aspect markers: the former have completive aspect markers. This additional formal difference between the two lies in the fact that in the case of the simple

completive, the verbal prefix ends in a long vowel on high tone, whilst in the case of the relative completive, the verbal prefix ends in short vowel, also on high tone.

Notice also that even though wannan/wacànnan are usually described as 'near' or 'proximal' demonstratives in the literature, in (23) they are strictly speaking 'distal' in their reference, since the object being referred to is not physically present or near the speaker. In this sort of context the usual semantic distinction between 'proximal' and 'distal' demonstratives tends in fact to be neutralised, so that either form of determiner may be used - hence the interpretation of both wadànnan and wadàncan as "those" in (23 C). What matters here, as in (23 a-b) is not the exact location of the object referred to, but the fact that it is presupposed by the speaker to be known by the hearer.

6.3. The other sets of non-adjectival noun modifiers are confined to post-position (as noted in 7.1 above). We may characterise them all as "Appositives" because, like postnominal adjectives, they are not subject to any restrictions in respect of their ordering relative to their head nouns (c.f. 5.5 above). They may be sub-divided into clausal and non-clausal postmodifiers. The clausal ones may also be restrictive or non-restrictive. Consider (25 - 8):

25. Nii nakèe dà tsoohuwa-m mootà-n nà (kaatùwaa, waddà akà
 I have old car big which one
 Keeraa à Ingila, mài kyau)
 made in England, beautiful
 = 'I am ^{the owner of} the old car, (which is) big, which was made in England
 (and) (which is) beautiful.

26. Baa ni aron saabuwa-r leemarki (dà kika cee
 give me loan-of new umbrella-of-you which you say
 baa ki soo, dà na sawoo maki)
 not you like, which I bought for you
 = 'Lend me your new umbrella, which you say you do not like,
 (and) which I bought you.'
27. Yaa zoo dà maatar (dà ya auraa baa ra)
 he came with wife-of-his who he married last-year
 = 'He came with the wife he married last year.'
28. Naa gà yaarò-n (dà ya gudu)
 I saw boy the Who he ran
 = 'I saw the boy who ran away!'

In examples (25 and 26) the identity of the respective noun heads is determined by the premodifying adjectives tsoohuwaa and saabuwaa. In (25) and (26) respectively the mootaa and leemaa are pre-supposed by the speaker to be known by the hearer. The modification supplied by the postmodifying relative clauses is therefore non-restrictive. In (27) and (28), however, the head noun may be linguistically identified only through the modification that has been supplied by the relative clause. The clause is therefore restrictive.

The modifiers in parenthesis in examples (25) and (26) may be dropped without losing any information that is essential for identifying the respective head nouns. They are strictly speaking optional. In (27) and (28), however, they are not, so they cannot

be dropped without making identification of the head difficult.²

Restrictive postmodification is also supplied by final /-n/ which often suggests prior mention, especially in NPs where no other postmodifier is present, like (29-31):

29. Naa gà yaarò-n = "I saw the boy in question"
 or "I saw the boy (that S)"
30. Yaarò-n yaa zòo = "The boy in question came"
 or "The boy (that S) came"
31. Sun sai dà jaaki-n = "They sold the donkey in question"
 or "They sold the donkey (that S)"

/-n/ in these sentences has more than "the effect of the definite article" (Migeod 1914, p. 88); it connotes something like "X that I told you about", "that you mentioned to me", "that we jointly know", etc. That is, they have the force of downgraded relatives³ containing verbs of speaking like gayaa ("tell"), fàdaa ("inform"), cèe ("say"), sanar dà ("notify"), etc. This is the reason why we have listed deictic /-n/ under "clausal" post-modifiers. The interpretation of yaarò-n and jaaki-n suggests that they are what is left of truncated embedded relative clauses of the shape

32. [NP + [da + S]] ,

in which NP is the antecedent noun, which contains the referential -n/-r, da is the relative marker, and S the embedded relative clause.

The string is then reduced by deleting both the relative marker and relative clause, leaving only the antecedent noun and the referential morpheme attached to it.

The decision as to whether to use /-n/ alone or to reinforce *it* with other postmodifiers like nan (25) or relative clauses, etc., seems to depend on the pragmatic demands of the communication situation, and on the degree of rapport between speaker and hearer. Sentences like (29-31) seem to suggest a much greater rapport between the interlocutors, so much that the speaker can afford to omit a whole clause without any fear of being misunderstood by the listener.⁴ If any such fear exists, he would most probably specify the head more fully as in (27-8) above, and thereby give the listener all the necessary information necessary for the identification of the object or person being referred to.

6.31. The majority of items that come under the "non-clausal" modifiers (B.2) are morphologically complex, and are generally derived by prefixing màì, ḡan/ʼyar or na/ta to a noun, but are non-adjectival because they are incapable of collocating with kwaraì, soòsai or ainùn (cf. chapter 4.20). Such constructions are appositive *per se*, in that they are entirely optional, and in some cases tell us nothing important about N, and hardly identify it. For example, 33-9:

33. "Inàa Audù sarkin kaasùwa-ḡ gabàs, màì tumbin
 = where Audu chief of marked of east has stomach of
 kudù, na Mairò, Zaria? Naa saadù da gaisùwarkà
 money, for Mairo, Zaria, I met with greeting-your

ta gidan wayaa jiyà"
through house for telephone yesterday.

"Are you listening Audu, the eastern market caretaker,
with lots of money, the darling of Mairo, of Zaria?
I received your greetings through the post office
yesterday".

34. "Inaa Audù, hassadaa ga mai-raboo taakii, dan tireeda,
where Audu envy to lucky manure son-of trade
baakin kaasuwa, Kazaure ..."
place of market K.

"Are you listening Audu, envy only reinforces the lucky
person, the trader, of the market area, Kazaure ..."

35. "Sai kumà Sani maasinja, mai neeman na Makka,
then also Sani messenger is looking for Mecca,
Unguan shanu Kaduna ...,
U. S. K.

"Next is Sani, the messenger, who is searching for something
to go to Mecca with, (of) Unguan Shanu Kaduna",

36. "... da kumà Irò, mai naamaa, na Abu ..."
and also Iro, has meat, for Abu ...

"... and also Iro, the butcher, the darling of Abu ..."

37. "A karshèe zan kiràa Raabi, maatan Dalhàa, kiràn
 =at last I will call Raabi, wife-of D. calling
dinàa sai dà kudii, mài tuwòn 'ya-m makarantaa,
 dinner except with money, has tuwo for sons-of school,
Funtua; gaisùwarki taa saadu dà Laarai, màatar
 Funtua; greeting-of-you she reach with L. wife-of
Habiibu, dan kamashòo, ...
 Habiibu, son-of commission, ...

"Lastly, I will call Raabi, the wife of Dalhaa, who is able to throw parties because he can afford it,⁵ (who cooks for school children, of Funtua; your greetings go to Laarai, the wife of Habiibu, the commission agent, ..."

38. "Alhaji Muhtari, dan kirkii, gamjii, uban 'yan-
 =A. M. son-of kindness gamjii father-of sons-of-
bookò, inàa gòodiyàa.
 modern-schools, I-am thankful.

"Alhaji Muhtari, the kind man, resilient as the gutta percha tree, the patron of the Western-educated, I thank you"⁶

39. "Mài girmàa, mài darajàa, sarkin Kanòo, Alhaji Adò
 has bigness has value emir (of) K., A., A.
Bayero, yaa cee ..."
 B., he said ...

"His Highness, the worthy, the emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero,
 has said ..."

These examples were actually heard over Radio Kaduna. Such constructions are very common in present-day Hausa. The interesting thing about them is that they are intended not necessarily to inform, i.e. to enable the listener to identify the person or object referred to, but rather to express the speaker's attitude towards that person or object. Very often such sequences serve no purpose other than to eulogise the subject of the utterance, especially if he/she is in position of authority. It is not uncommon, for instance, to hear the radio news headlines predicated by a number of laudatory but non-essential appositive expressions, as in (40-42):

40. Mai girmaa, Firimiyan Jihar Areewa, kuma mataimakin
has bigness premier region-of North also deputy
shuugaban Kungiyam Musulmii na duuniyaa, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu
leader-of league Moslems for world Alhaji Sir Ahmadu
Bello, Sardaunan Sakkwato, yaa bar Kaduna zuwaa Zaria
Bellow Sardauna-of Sakkwato he left K. towards Z.
yau.
today.

= 'His Highness, the Premier of the Northern Region, and Vice-President of the World Islamic League, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, has left Kaduna for Zaria today'.

41. Mai Martabaa, shuugaban Gwamnatin Mulkin sooja, na
has excellence leader-of government rule of soldier, for
Taarayyaa, kuma babban kwamandan soojoojin tsaroo,
federation, also big commander-of soldiers for defence

na Nijèeriyàa baakii ðaya, jànar Mohammed ...
for Nigeria together all, General Mohammed ...

yaa yi jawaabii jiyà.

= "His Excellency, the Head of the Federal Military Government
and Supreme Commander of the Nigerian Armed Forces, General
Mohammed ..."

42. Manjò-janar Hasàn Musa Gusàu, Matawallin Sakkwato, bàbban
Major-general H. M. G., Matawalli of S. big
hafsàn hafsòoshin sojoojin Nijèriyaa, kumà
officer-of officers-of soldiers of Nigeria also
kwamishinan tsaròn kasàa, yaa saukà à Kanò yàu.
commissioner-for defence-of country he land at K. today.

= Major-General Hasan Musa Gusau, the Matawalli of Sakkwato,
the Chief of Staff of the Nigerian Armed Forces and Federal
Commissioner for Defence has arrived in Kano today.

In all these examples, there seems to be little or no head /
attribute relation between the various head nouns and the non-clausal
modifiers. The information provided about the person referred to can
in each case be done without. That is to say, it is not crucial for
their specification. In (40-42) as in (39), the individuals referred
to are well-known public figures or heads of services, so all the
information given in the sentences regarding their identity is redundant.
At any rate the information has no bearing on the themes of the sentences.

What is interesting is what they are doing or have done in each case, but its expression is so circumscribed that it sounds anti-climactic when we finally come to it.

6.32. The numerals and quantifiers are typically postnominal. For these two classes of non-adjectival noun modifiers the restrictive/non-restrictive dichotomy is irrelevant, for their function is simply to "quantify" N, and not necessarily to identify it uniquely.

6.33. The numerals may be sub-divided into two: cardinals and ordinals (see Appendix D for a complete list).

6.33.1 With the exception of ḍaya ("one") which can co-occur only with singular nouns, all cardinal numerals co-occur only with plural nouns, e.g.:

43. Tanàa dà ḍaa ḍaya dà maataa hudù
 She has son one and daughters four
 'She has a son and four daughters'

44. Akwài ḍaalibai sàbà'in dà takwàs a makarantarmù
 there-are students seventy plus eight in school-our
 "There are seventy eight students in our school"

45. Mutaanee dubuu ḍarii akà taaràa a Kàdunà sabòoda
 People thousand hundred one gathered at Kaduna for
 shagali-n.
 ceremony-the.

"A hundred thousand people were gathered for the ceremony".

52. 'Deeboo mən kàdān
gather for-me some, small quantity
"Bring me some/a small amount"
53. "À baa mù kaliilan, Allàh yà maida kasiiran"
One give us few Allah he return plenty
"Give us a few coins / a tiny amount (of money), and
Allah will give you plenty of (money) in return".
54. a. Taa dafaa mana àbinci isashshee
She cooked us food sufficient
"She cooked us sufficient food".
- b. Yanàa dà maataa isashshiyaa
He has with wife adequate
"He has a wife who has got all it takes".
- c. Yanàa dà shaanuu isassuu
he has with cattle adequate
"He has (all the cattle he needs)"
(
(plenty of cattle)"
55. (Kudii) nawà zan biyaa?
money amount will-I pay
How much (money) shall I pay?
56. Koo (kudii) nawà ya kee soo zan baashi
whatever money amount he is liking will-I give-him
"Whatever amount / sum he wants I will give him".

57. a. Ubansù yaa bar masù duukiyaa mai-yawaa /gidàajee
 father-of-them he left to-them wealth considerable/houses
maasu-yawaa.
 numerous.

"Their father left them considerable wealth / many houses".

- b. Yaa bar masù gidàajee baa iyàakaa.
 he left to-them houses lacking limit
 "He left them very many houses".

58. Saani yaa zoo dà maatanshi gudaa biyu
 S. he came with wives-his units two
 "He came with his two wives".

This last example demonstrates how numerals (cardinals) and quantifiers may co-occur. In fact, gudaa is always assumed wherever cardinal numerals appear. It is, however, generally ellipted, unless the speaker wishes to emphasize the units involved or implicitly contrast a given number against a norm. In (58), for example, gudaa suggests that Saani has brought only two of the many wives he has; or that he has only two wives, contrary to existing practice in the community. Similarly, in

59. Yanaa dà maataa (gudaa) daya
 He has wife units one
 "He has one wife",

gudaa may suggest non-conformity with the marriage norms of the society.

Given these examples we may sub-divide the quantifiers into two groups: unitary (49-56, 58) and phrasal (57). Even though the latter are derived by prefixing possessive mai/mara or the negative morpheme baa to a noun, they are not an open class. In fact the examples in (57) are the only ones I can think of. The phrasal quantifiers are semantically less precise than the unitary ones, and are less common apparently for this reason.

The various noun modifiers we have considered in this chapter thus differ from adjectives in their distribution and other formal properties. They nevertheless serve basically the same purpose as adjectives in Hausa - hence their mutual combinability, and ability to help narrow down the range of reference of the head nouns they may jointly pre- and/or postmodify. The kinds of modification they provide are varied, however, and may be adequately handled only in a separate study. Our account in this chapter is necessarily brief because these non-adjectival noun modifiers fall outside our main area of concern in this thesis.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

- 1) Note that Hausa has no definite article equivalent to English the. The "definiteness" associated with "the", is however, implicit in the interpretation of determiner sub-classes 4 and 5, especially when they are used cross-referentially (c.f. 7.2, e.g. 23, 24). Note also that 4 and 5 items are sometimes analysed as "demonstrative pronouns" in the literature.

2) For further examples consider (i - iii)

(i) Audu nee (dà ka cee in kīraa shì)

Audu is who you see I call him

= "It's Audu, who you asked me to call"

(ii) Haakimi-n (dà akà naɗaà jiyà)

district-head who one turban yesterday

= "The district head who was appointed yesterday"

(iii) māata-r (dà ta baceè)

woman who she disappear

= "The woman who got lost"

In (i) the clause is clearly non-restrictive, for here the speaker presupposes the referent to be known by the hearer. In (ii-iii), however, no such presupposition is being made by the speaker - hence the clauses are restrictive.

3) Cf. Leech 1974, p. 149.

4) Cf. Grice's hypothesis of a "Co-operative Principle" between speakers, discussed in Kempson (1975) p. 141 f.

5) Implicit in this utterance is the desire to taunt her husband's rivals, or those who might complain that he is too extravagant.

6) Cf. Gidley (1975) for similar examples taken from a Hausa praise-singer.

We set out in this study to determine (1) why attributive adjectives have a significantly different interpretation in pre-position than in post-position, and (2) why the relevant adjective ordering rules apply in pre-position, but not in post-position.

7.1 Our search for suitable answers to these questions was complicated by the fact that the lexical category "adjective" has not itself been satisfactorily delimited in existing Hausa studies. This is largely because of the division of opinion among Hausaists regarding this question. Since we ourselves believe that adjectives exist in Hausa we had to start by countering the arguments of those who claim Hausa has no "true adjectives".

We found that their arguments against analysing adjectives as a separate word-class were vitiated largely by the tendency for the analysts to put too much emphasis on the morphological (inflectional) properties of the words under analysis and to ignore or underplay their syntactic ones. But as demonstrated in our own analysis the syntactic properties of the items are what really matter. They are distinctive, and thus provide a basis for establishing them as a separate word-class. The difference in the syntactic function of nouns and adjectives in our view outweighs their morphological (inflectional) similarity. The latter was in fact shown to be simply illustrative of the syntactic relationship of the items. It is therefore argued that the differences in their syntactic function,

the fact that whenever they occur it is always the adjective that modifies the noun, never vice versa, and that they behave differently towards other word-classes, particularly Adverbial intensifiers like kwarai soosai, ainun, are what really matter for their characterisation as two distinct lexical categories.

In regard to the two questions that prompted the whole investigation it was demonstrated (in chapters three, four and five) that adjectives occurring in pre- and post-position are associated with different meanings, that the choice of one adjective position rather than the other is conditioned by the pragmatic demands of the communication situation. As post-position is the unmarked or 'normal' position of Hausa adjectives it is suggested (in Chapter 4) that adjective preposing is conditioned by the speakers need to achieve a greater degree of explicitness in his reference to a particular noun than he would otherwise achieve by ordering his modifiers postnominally. On adjective ordering, it was shown through the results of the Completion test that order restrictions apply in pre-position, such that adjectives are ordered according to what semantic class they belong to, whereas in post-position no such restrictions apply. It was also shown that whereas one can stack as many adjectives as one likes in post-position, this is not possible in pre-position, presumably because of the semantic associations of adjectives occurring in that position. Given these formal-semantic differences between adjectives in pre- and post-position we felt that the best way to handle them is to correlate their meaning and form and to treat them as paradigmatically opposed.

That is to say we do not feel that the problem of Hausa adjectives may be satisfactorily handled by postulating that pre-posed adjectives mean the same as post-posed ones, for that would imply that they are transformationally related - with the former derived from the latter as follows (c.f. Bagari, 1976):

$$\left[\text{Adj.} + N_1 \right]_{NP} \longrightarrow \left[N_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wanda} \\ \text{wadda} \\ \text{wadàndà} \end{array} \right\} - \text{ASP} - \text{Adj.} \right]_{S, NP}$$

e.g. $\left[\underline{\text{baka-r}} \text{ yarinyà} \right] \longrightarrow \left[\text{yarinyà} \left[\text{waddà ta kè } \underline{\text{bakaa}} \right] \right]$
 $\left[\underline{\text{baki-n}} \text{ yaaròo} \right] \longrightarrow \left[\text{yaaròo} \left[\text{wandà ya ke } \underline{\text{bakii}} \right] \right]$
 $\left[\underline{\text{bakaàake-n}} \text{ yàaraa} \right] \longrightarrow \left[\text{yàaraa} \left[\text{wadàndà su kè } \underline{\text{bakaàakee}} \right] \right]$

In the first stage of such a derivation the relative clause (S), is reduced by deleting the relative marker wandà/waddà/wadàndà and the aspect marker (ASP) (both of which agree in gender and number with N_1) to produce intermediate N + Adj. sequences like,

1. yaarinyà bakaa
- yaaròo bakii
- yàaraa bakaàakee

In the second and final stage, the postnominal adjective is moved by T-Adj. to prenominal position.

Observe, however, that sequences (1) are acceptable, and in fact exemplify the commonest adjectival constructions in the language. To describe them as "intermediate" strings is therefore misleading and incorrect. As argued above the two adjective positions have different associations. So the switch from the more frequent

assumed to have more to do with semantic than grammatical factors, namely, the need to achieve greater precision in the modification process as dictated by the communication situation. As pre-position is not a general grammatical requirement in Hausa, unlike in English, T-Adj. will therefore not provide a satisfactory answer to the question of how prenominal adjectives are derived.

The formal and semantic properties of adjectives in pre- and post-position correlate so inextricably in Hausa that we cannot simply assign the one to competence and relegate the other to performance. Hausa adjective usage seems to be one area where the usual distinction between competence and performance is not easy to make. Speakers make a distinction between adjectives in pre- and post-position not only in their own speech but also in the speech of others. That is to say, they not only know that a formal and a semantic difference exists between them; they also use them creatively and systematically. They know that adjectives in the two positions are not synonymous (see results of the Similarity Test, table 10). Consequently, they *seldom use them interchangeably, contrary to the claims of some of our predecessors*. The two adjective forms are not transformationally but paradigmatically related. They are therefore most naturally analysed by correlating their meaning and form in the way we have attempted to do in this thesis.

7.2 In support of our overall position we may cite the fact that similar conclusions have been arrived at by linguists working on the problem of adjectives in languages that are unrelated to Hausa; namely English (Bolinger 1974, see also 1952 and 1967) and French

(see particularly Waugh 1976, a and b).

Bolinger, for instance, has demonstrated that English prenominal and postnominal adjectives contrast in their semantic function, and may not therefore be reasonably said to mean the same or be derived from the same source. Bolinger is arguing against the transformational view (expounded in Chomsky 1957, 1965, Smith 1961 - see also Vendler 1968, Jacobs and Rosenbaum 1969, Stockwell et al. 1972) that prenominal adjectives are derived by transformation from predicate adjectives in relative clauses, e.g.

big table in I bought the big table:

I. $[N + [wh \text{ is } Adj.]_S]_{NP} \xrightarrow{\text{REL. RED.}} [N - Adj.]_{NP}$
 table that is big table big

II. $[N - Adj.]_{NP} \xrightarrow{T - Adj.} [Adj. - N]_{NP}$
 table big big table

That is to say, the postmodifying relative is reduced by deleting the relative marker (wh) and the verb be, followed by T - Adj. which preposes the adjective to its 'normal' position before the head noun. Bolinger finds this analysis suspicious on many grounds. First he points out that there are several attributive adjectives that are never predicative, e.g.:

2. The main reason ; *the reason is main
 a total stranger ; *the stranger is total
 an utter fool ; *the fool is utter

a fond old man ; *the old man is fond
 a runaway horse ; *the horse is runaway
 etc.

Second, there are also adjectives that are predicative but seldom or never attributive, e.g.:

3. *the ready man ; the man is ready
 *the flush man ; the man is flush
 *the asleep people ; the people are asleep
 *the alive man ; the man is alive
 *a sorry girl ; the girl is sorry

His third and most important point is that there is a clear semantic difference between predicate adjectives, on the one hand, and attributive and postnominal adjectives, on the other. For example, he notes that the jewels are stolen is ambiguous between action (passive voice) and characteristic, but the stolen jewels and the jewels stolen are unambiguous: characteristic for the first, action for the second. He then asserts that "if we derive the stolen jewels from the jewels are (were) stolen we therefore not only derive a less ambiguous construction from a more ambiguous one, but, since the jewels stolen is supposed to be an intermediate step on the way to the stolen jewels, we get the illogical sequence + characteristic, — - characteristic — + characteristic" (1967, 3). Bolinger therefore concludes that the derivation is not very helpful, for instead of clearing up ambiguity it actually seems to create it.

Bolinger notes further that whilst most postnominal adjectives in English mean the same as relative clauses, few, if any, prenominal adjectives mean the same as relative clauses. Compare (3) and (4) sequences:

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 4. | the <u>visible</u> stars | the stars which are / were <u>visible</u> |
| | a <u>rural</u> policeman | *a policeman who is <u>rural</u> |
| | the <u>main</u> reason | *the reason which is <u>main</u> |
| | a <u>total</u> stranger | *a stranger who is <u>total</u> |
| | a <u>crack</u> salesman | *a salesman who is <u>crack</u> |
| | an <u>empty</u> house | *a house that is <u>empty</u> , etc. |

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 5. | the stars <u>visible</u> | = the stars which are / were <u>visible</u> |
| | the man <u>asleep</u> | = the man who is / was <u>asleep</u> |
| | the man <u>alive</u> | = the man who is / was <u>alive</u> |
| | the jewels <u>stolen</u> | = the jewels which were <u>stolen</u> |
| | the students <u>dismissed</u> | = the students who were <u>dismissed</u> |
| | etc. | |

Of the two sets of examples only the postnominal adjectives in (5) may reasonably be said to be related to relative clauses. Implicit in the adjectives in (5) is the notion of temporary state; that is, they refer to the condition of the noun on particular occasions, not to its permanent attributes, which is what prenominal adjectives such as those in (4) and (2), usually do. Bolinger therefore concludes that it would be unreasonable to posit a single underlying structure for the various occurrences of English adjectives, given that their function is different.¹

Linda Waugh (1976 a & b) makes a similar claim as Bolinger and asserts that the problem of French attributive adjectives may best be handled by correlating their meaning and form. She argues that there is a systematic difference of meaning between French adjectives in pre- and post-position. For instance, in menteur FURIEUX vs. FURIEUX menteur she argues that "furieux in post-position characterizes the person as a 'furious' ('angry') person who is also a 'liar'. In pre-position, on the other hand, the qualities given by the adjective pertain to the person specifically in his capacity as a 'liar'. In other words, in post-position the adjective qualifies the individual as a person in general, whereas in pre-position it characterizes him specifically in so far as he is a 'liar'".

Waugh maintains that this difference also obtains when furieux is used with a different noun, e.g. FURIEUX mangeur ('tremendous, prodigious eater') vs. mangeur FURIEUX ('angry eater'). "Again", she argues, "in post-position furieux pertains more to the person than to his identity as an 'eater'; in fact, the specific interpretation of furieux will not differ significantly for mangeur FURIEUX and menteur FURIEUX. The individuals may be 'angry' for different reasons (i.e., the general contexts may vary), but the 'anger' will not differ in the specific way that mangeur and menteur differ". In FURIEUX mangeur, however, she claims that "the referential interpretation" of furieux will differ: the person referred to is a FURIEUX mangeur "because he over-eats, or eats quickly and ravenously, or simply because he loves to eat." Similarly, a FURIEUX menteur would be such "because he lies all the time, or compulsively, or finds a certain satisfaction in lying."

Waugh claims that all cases of pre-position and post-position of the same adjective in French are characterised by such differences. In pre-position the adjective is closely tied to the lexical meaning of the noun head; whereas in post-position it generally is not; rather it modifies the noun as it would modify any other noun. She therefore concludes that the difference in meaning between adjectives in pre-position and those in post-position may best be formulated in terms of a binary distinctive feature, (+ deixis of the lexical context), "Where the feature itself and the logical relationship implicit in its binary nature are the same as found elsewhere". This feature is necessarily present in all cases of pre-position of the adjective in French, so pre-position may be analysed as marked (i.e. (+ deixis of the lexical context)). This feature is, however, not necessarily present in cases of post-position of the adjective, so post-position may be regarded/^{as}unmarked (i.e., (+ deixis of the lexical context)). That is to say, it is neutral, uncommitted with regard to the information given by that feature (1976 a, 85-86).

I hope I have summarised Waugh's position correctly. Needless to say, she is concerned with much wider issues than we are in this thesis, but her demonstration of the fact that differences in the form of words especially adjectives, are correlated with differences in their meaning in French is interesting for our purpose, for, like Bolinger, her findings seem to complement our own, and to indirectly provide independent support for our theoretical position.

We are of course conscious of the fact that the properties of English and French adjectives are different from Hausa ones in many

respects. In fact they are often the converse of what obtains in Hausa. For instance, in English pre-position is the unmarked or normal position of the adjectives, with post-position confined to a few adjectives, usually those with an a-prefix, e.g. asleep, alive, etc.

In Hausa it is the other way round, as we have seen. Bolinger's distinction between 'permanent' and 'temporary' state is also not particularly illuminating for Hausa. The attributive-predicative distinction itself is not pertinent to Hausa, as Hausa copulative constructions have a different semantic force from English ones, and are generally contrastive. For instance, in Audu bakii nee, bakii is predicative, like English black in Audu is black, but its reading approximates more to English Audu is BLACK, with stress emphasis on black, than simply Audu is black.

With regard to Waugh's analysis of French adjectives we may remark here that we are not in a position to commit ourselves as to its accuracy since our own knowledge of French is somewhat shaky. It interests us, nevertheless, because it shows that French is like Hausa in being a postnominally modifying language, and that (assuming Waugh is right) it makes similar distinctions to Hausa with regard to pre-position and post-position of the adjective.

7.3. Our theoretical position is reinforced further by the fact that it provides a useful basis for handling other problems of Hausa, for instance the problem of the difference in meaning between the following sentences. These should be studied along with the mingograms on pages (178-194) which were made specifically to

provide instrumental corroboration for our observations.

7. 'AUDU ya kaamà Muusaa = It's Audu who arrested Musa.
S V O
8. Audu yaa kaamà Muusaa = Audu has arrested Musa.
S V O
9. 'MUUSAA Audu ya kaamà = It's Musa that Audu arrested.
O S V
10. Muusaa 'AUDU ya kaamà = Musa arrested Audu (... not
S O V anybody else!)
11. 'AUDU Muusaa ya kaamà = It's Audu that Musa arrested
O S V
12. Audu 'MUUSAA ya kaamà = Audu arrested Musa (... not
S O V anybody else!)
13. 'MUUSAA ya kaamà = It was Musa (that he) arrested.
O V
14. 'AUDU ya kaamà = It was Audu (that he) arrested.
O V
15. 'MUUSAA ya kaamà shi = It was Musa who arrested him.
S V O
16. 'AUDU ya kaamà shi = It was Audu who arrested him.
S V O
17. Audu yà kaamà shi = Audu (is to) arrest him,
S V O or, Let Audu arrest him.
(should)
18. Muusaa yà kaamà shi = Musa(is to) arrest him
S V O or, Let Musa arrest him
19. (Kà/ki) kaamà Muusaa = (You) arrest Musa.
V O

20. 'KAAMÀ Muusaa ya yi (...bàa sakìnsa bà!)
- S O V = He arrested Musa (... not release him!)
21. 'HAWÀÀ keekè ya yi (...bàa tuuraa ta bà!)
- S O V = He rode a bicycle (... not push it!).
22. Audù yaa ci àbinci = Audu has/had eaten (some) food.
- S V O
23. 'ABINCI Audù ya ci (...bàa wùyaa bà!)
- O S V
- = Audu ate (some food (... not suffer²).
24. Audù yaa shaa ruwaa = Audu has/had drunk (some) water.
- S V O
25. 'RUWAA Audù ya shàa (...bàa giyaa bà!)
- O S V = Audu drank (some) water (... not beer!).
- etc. etc.

These examples illustrate some of the possible sentences of Hausa and their variant word order. They also demonstrate the inextricable link between meaning and form in Hausa as a whole. In all the examples the meaning of the sentences depends on their respective formal properties. In some cases the sentences are structurally the same and the only formal indicators of their meaning are the differences in their tone, intonation or vowel quantity (e.g. 7 vs. 8, 9 vs. 10, 11 vs. 12, 16 vs. 17, 15 vs. 18). Such suprasegmental properties as tone, intonation, vowel length, etc.,

are not mere trappings,³ but inherent in the language. So they cannot be ignored for the sake of simplicity or economy. Their direct involvement in determining or specifying the meaning of sentences makes them occasionally equal in status to the syntactic processes triggered by word order change. So even though we will find it convenient to use the variant word orders of our example sentences as a basis for discussing their semantic properties we will note the contribution of other formal properties in determining the latter.

For convenience the sentences may be sub-divided according to their word order as follows:

group one: SVO sentences (e.g. 7,8,15,16-19,22,24)

group two: SOV sentences (e.g. 10,12).

group three: OSV sentences (e.g. 9,11,13,14,20,21,23,25).

The dominant order is SVO partly because, as in many languages, it has the highest frequency of occurrence and is often the one that is stylistically unmarked (cf. 8,22,24). But this should not necessarily imply that this "favourite" word order is the "underlying" word order from which all the others have been derived. This would be correct only if all the SVO sentences in the language have similar implications or mean the same. As the various sentences in group one demonstrate this is not the case, at least in Hausa.⁴ These sentences have different grammatical properties: their phonological realization is varied and correlates with their varied semantic interpretations. For instance, (7) is different from (8) precisely because it has an accented S and a short vowel on the verbal prefix ya -

hence the difference in their meaning. Sentence (8) is a simple statement of fact, whereas (7) is a focus construction in which the agent's role is emphasized and implicitly contrasted against that of others. Similarly (15 and 18 and (16) and (17) are semantically and grammatically different because of differences in the articulation of ya and because in (15) and (16) the subject noun is contrastively stressed and focussed. In (7), (15) and (16) the speaker is stressing a point and implicitly contradicting or refuting the prior claims of the hearer. In (17) and (18), on the other hand, he is gently suggesting that something be done and who should do it.

The SOV and OSV sentences, on the other hand, assign different degrees of focus on the object by "topicalising" it (OSV), or by placing it before the verb (SOV).

We observed above that the differences in meaning between the sentences are achieved not only by moving the sentence elements from one position (in the supposedly "normal" order SVO) to another, but also by changing their prosodic features, such as tone or intonation. For example, the difference in "modality" (hence of meaning) between sentence pairs (15) and (18), and (16) and (17) depends solely on the difference in their prosodic rendering. That is, there are no overt lexical or word order differences between the pairs. The only difference is tonal: the tone of the verbal prefix ya is High in (15) and (16), Low in (17) and (18). There is also the fact that Musa and Audu in (15) and (16) are emphatically stressed whereas in (17) and (18) they are not. In other sentences

the tone of ya does not change (e.g. 7-14, 20-25). The form of the verb also does not change. What changes is the aspectual information provided by the verbal prefix ya: it ends in a long vowel on high tone for simple past tense (as in 7, 22 and 24); in a short vowel, also on high tone, for relative past tense (as in 8;16, 20, 21, 23, 25); and - as we have seen - in a short vowel on low tone for the subjunctive.

Observe further that the tone of the verbal elements remains the same even if the sentence is truncated (as in 13, 14 & 19 where the subject nominal has been deleted).

These sentences therefore demonstrate clearly that sentence meaning in Hausa is correlated with the form of the elements used, e.g. their syntactic structure (especially word order), tone pattern, intonation etc. These factors apply simultaneously, and often have equal weight in determining the meaning of an utterance. Very often, however, some of them may outrank the others; as in (15/18) and (16/17) pairs above where the tone and intonation features supersede the linear syntactic order of the sentence elements. This is normal in a "tone" language and is often the rule rather than the exception.

Our argument about the interrelatedness of the meaning and form of sentences is clinched by (26-30) in which the meaning being communicated depends almost entirely on the way the sentences are articulated (again see mingograms 26-30, p.195-7):

26. Yaa zoo gidaa = He came/has come home.
27. Yā zoo gidaa = Let him/He is to come home.
28. Yā̇ zoo gidaa = (idiomatic) I'll deal with him when
he comes home!
29. Yaa zoo gidāa? = Has he come home?
30. Yaa zoo gidaa? = He has come home? or Has he really
come home? (... I don't believe it!).

We have already considered the function of ya as the carrier of aspectual information and the different properties of sentences like 26 and 27 (cf. I vs. II). In (28) also the shape of ya differentiates the sentence formally and semantically from the properties of (26) & (27). In (29) and (30), however, the difference in meaning depends not on the shape of the verbal prefix alone but more crucially on the quantity of the final vowel of gidaa. In both (29) and (30) the final vowel of gidaa is long, but has different duration: it is "longer" in (29). There is in addition an intonational difference between the two: the final syllable in (29) rises and falls, whereas in (30) it continues to rise.

The word order of (26-30) is the same, but the five sentences have different meaning. The different articulations of these sentences are directly associated with their meaning differences. There is therefore a correlation between sentence articulation and sentence meaning. The motivation to articulate the sentences differently appears to be related to the context, to what meaning the speaker wishes to convey in the speech situation. The fact that such different meanings may be conveyed using the same syntactic structure suggests that such a structure has little or nothing to

do with meaning differentiation, or that its role is a neutral one. This means that we cannot account for such variations by their syntactic properties alone. Sentences (26-30) have the same word order, as noted above, but they are not freely interchangeable in discourse because what is paramount is not merely their linear syntactic order but what meaning they communicate - who would, for example, substitute (30) for (27), or (29) for (28) and claim that he is communicating the same message to his hearer?

It is evident therefore that the different properties of these sentences are in some way related to their communicative function in each case.

The need to correlate meaning and form is thus applicable not only to Hausa adjectives but also to even bigger or more vexed questions as the relationship of sentence form and sentence meaning in the language. This fact, plus the fact that a similar situation seems to obtain in other languages, suggests that our proposals regarding the properties of Hausa adjectives in pre- and post-position are well-motivated.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

- 1) To be fair we must observe that many of the transformationalists that Bolinger criticizes would not derive adjectives in the

same way today. On our part we have nothing against transformational grammar - in fact we are attracted by it.

Our sympathy with Bolinger simply derives from the fact that we have not found the usual claim that prenominal adjectives derive from predicate adjectives in relative clauses particularly helpful or enlightening for the purpose of handling the problem of Hausa adjectives.

- 2) The concept of suffering is expressed idiomatically in Hausa, viz: 'Yaa ci/shaa wuyaa' = he has suffered (lit. "he has eaten / drank hardship").
- 3) Cf. Langacker (1972) p. 59 f. In our view any property that serves to explicate the meaning of an element should be treated as a semantic feature. So we regard word order, tone, intonation, vowel quality, etc., as exponents of meaning in Hausa, as "semantic distinctive features" in Waugh's terminology, regardless of whether they operate severally or individually in an utterance.
- 4) Li and Thomson (1975) have similarly observed that this is not the case in Mandarin Chinese.

9.1

9.1

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9.1

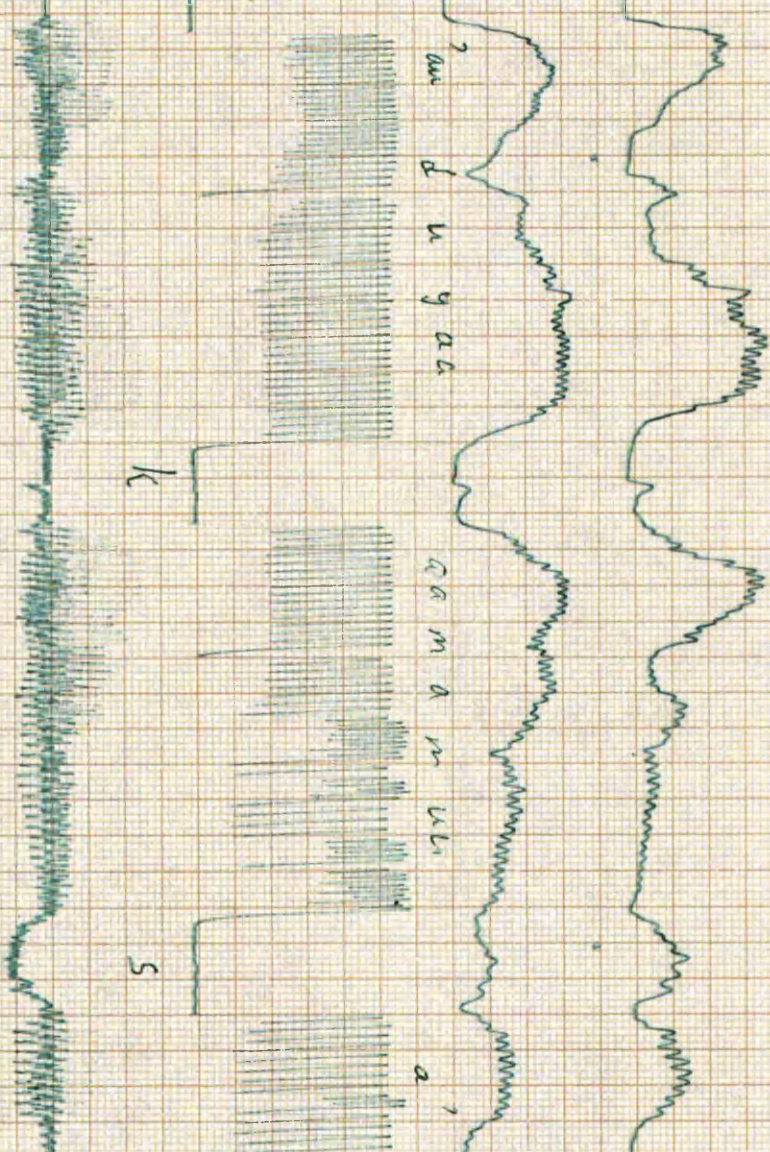
k

5

①

9.1

9.1



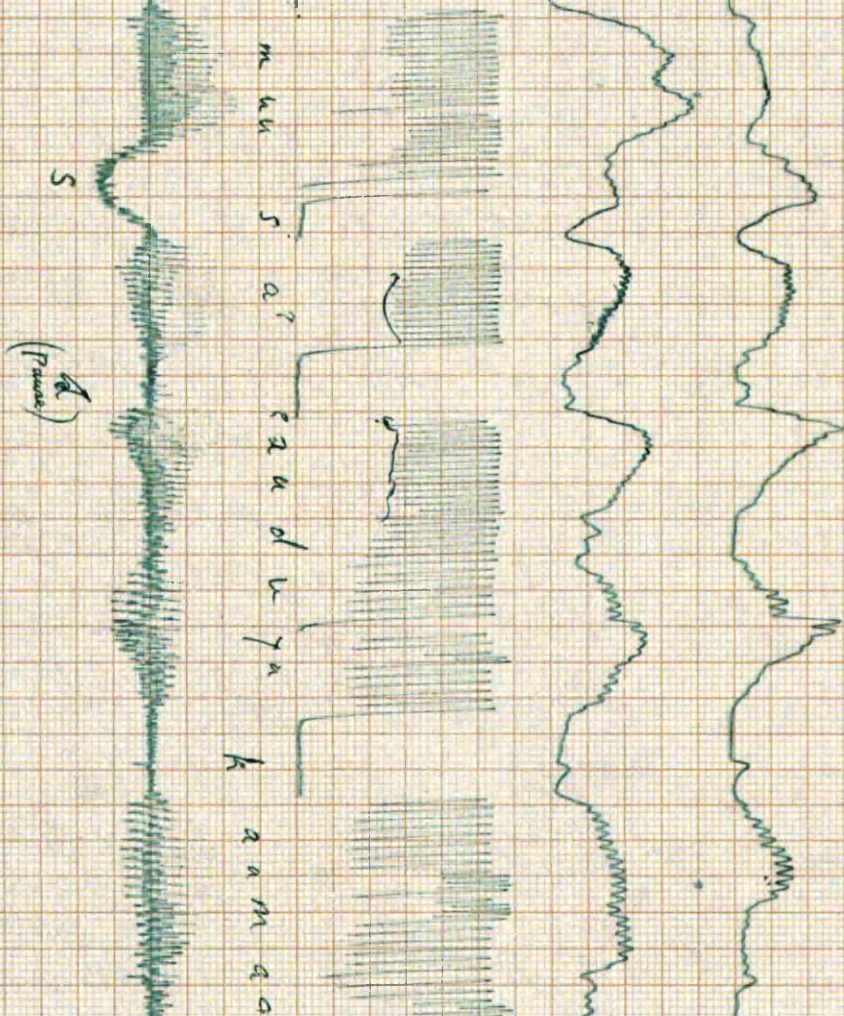
8) $\frac{1}{s} \frac{1}{s} \frac{1}{s} \frac{1}{s}$
 Au d u y a a

Have great
— pleasure

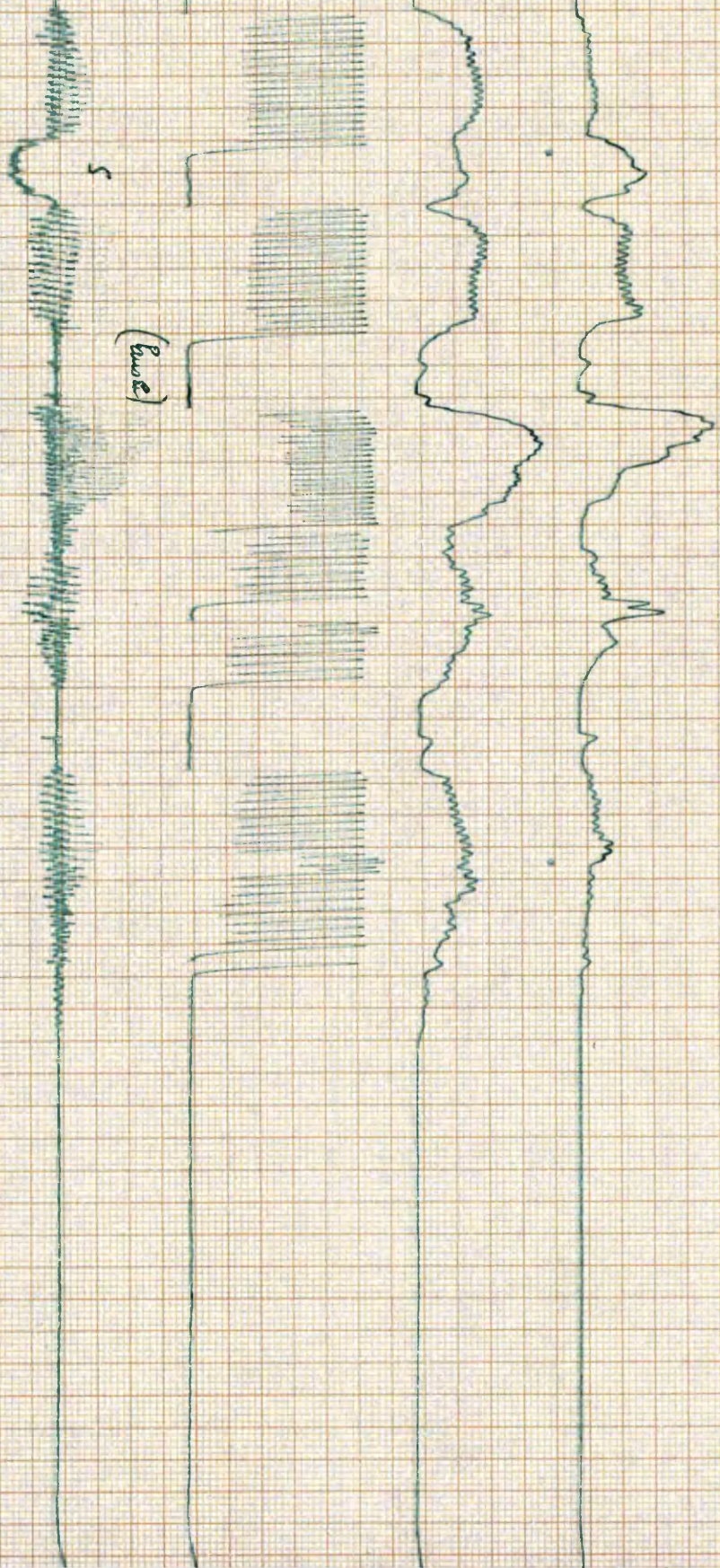
⑤

Muraes, *Rudu ya kaana*

It is M. ^{that} water caught *Rudu arrested*



flu. level
greatest intensity



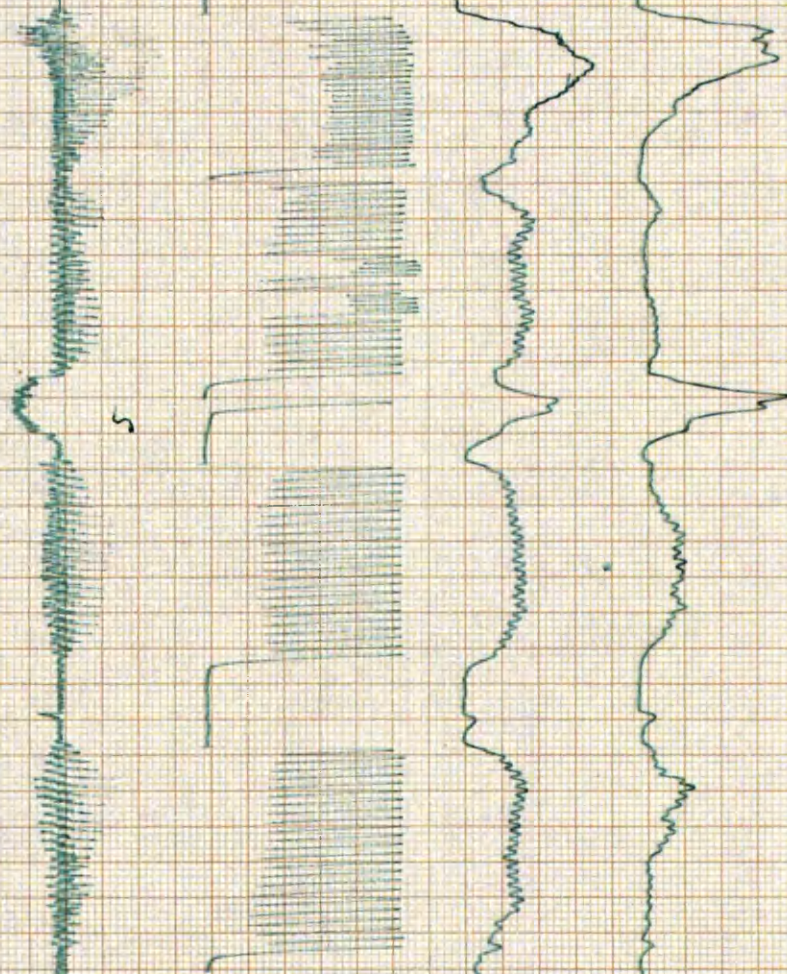
(2)
Musasa, Pula ya kaama
It is Pula Musasa caught

under low the perfect intensity

(11)

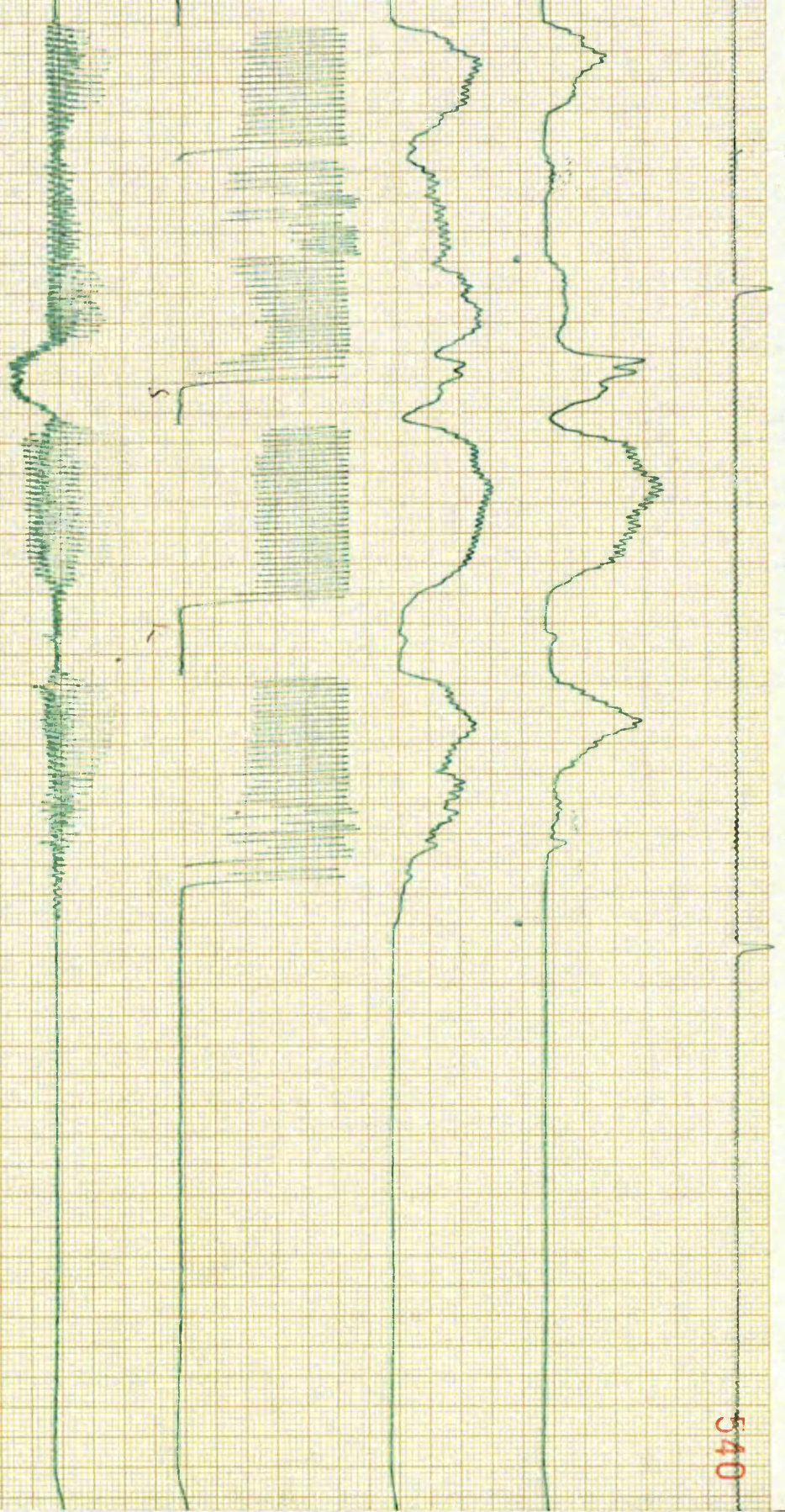
Order Number 90 1000000

It is P. that M. caught
(and maybe also)



(12)

Fraxinus sp. laevis



Muscle fiber

(3)

Muscle fiber

Anda has greatest intensity

(4)

Anda ya karama



Mues has greatest
intensity

(15)

Mues ya became sick

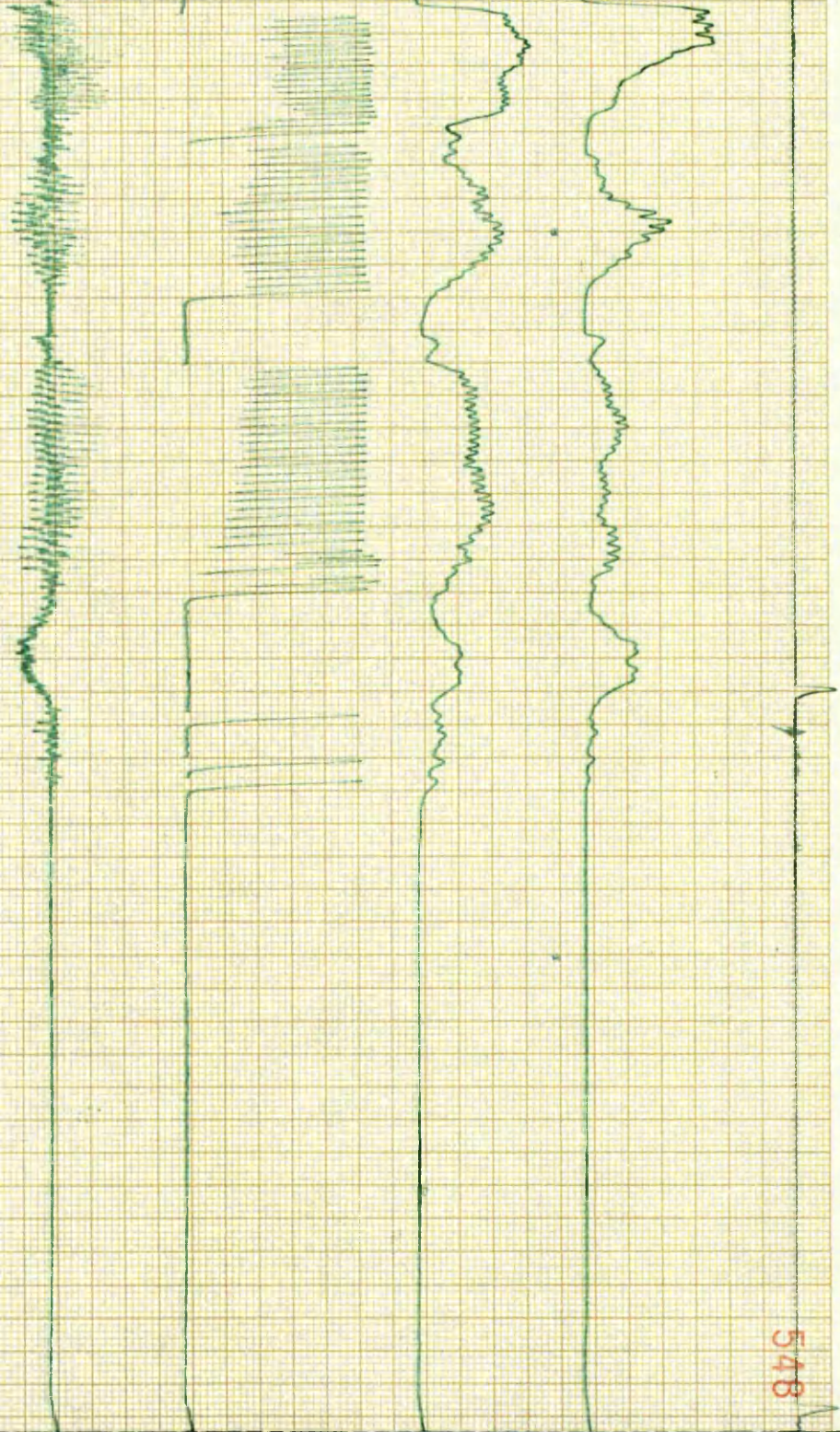
to see Mues who caught her



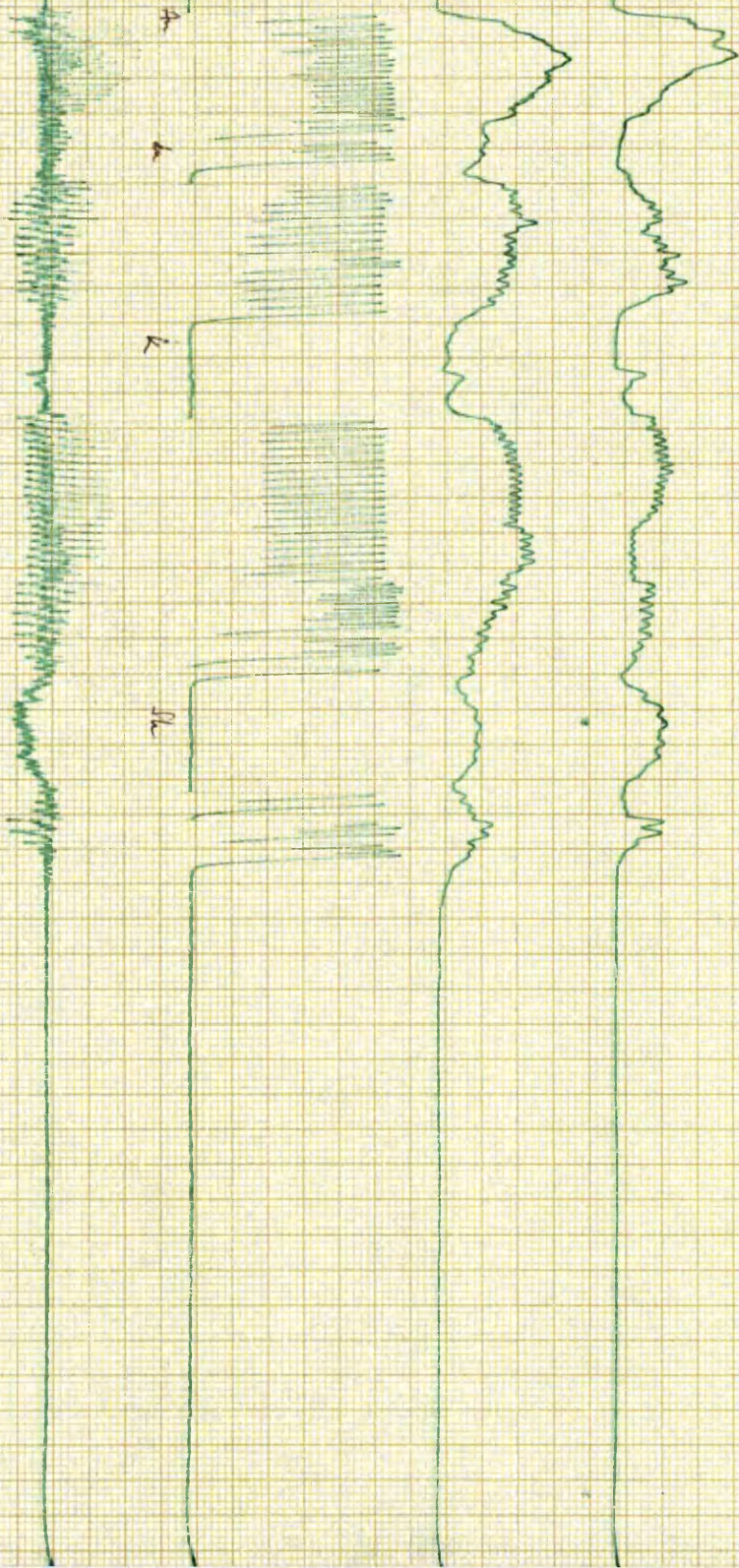
Amplitude greatest intensity

(16)

Amplitude greatest intensity



yā has lower pitch
than in 142



(27)
Pudu ya kanna shu.

ya has low pitch

(18)

Musca ya kaana sta



(19)

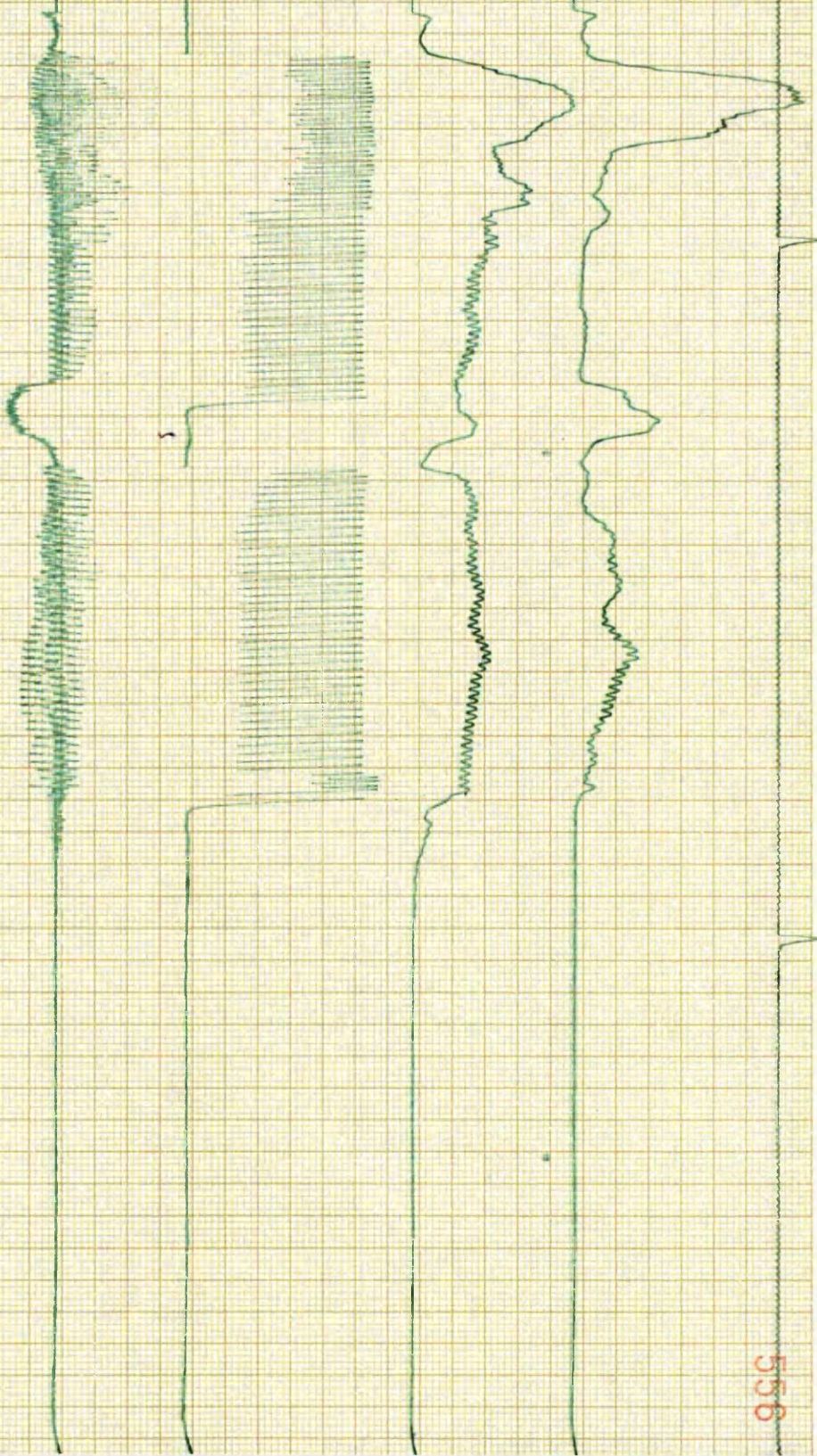
Ka laama Munsan



Kanda has great
intensity

20)

Kanda has great
intensity



Honda largest
intensity

(20)

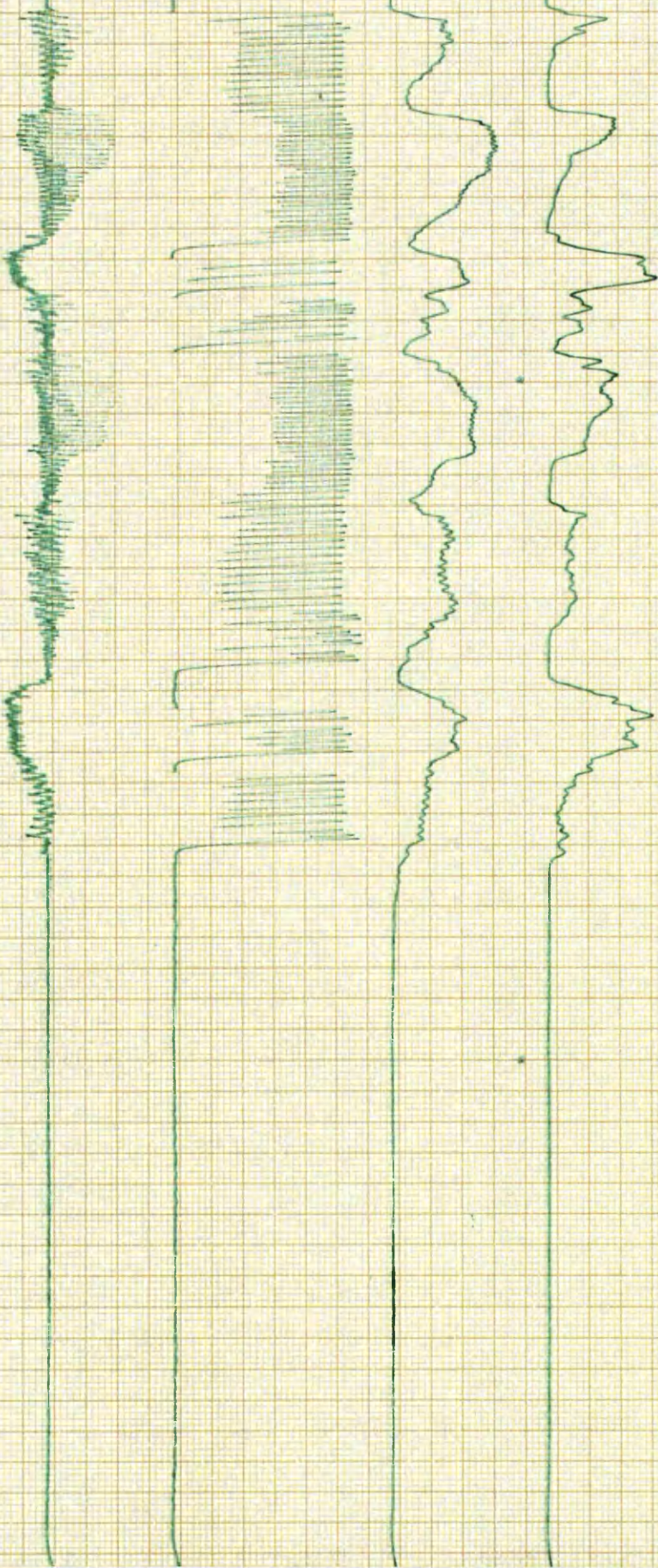
Honda keee ya yi

Abundance
greater intensity

(23)

Aluminum Acetate

7



Rumex has greatest intensity

(25)

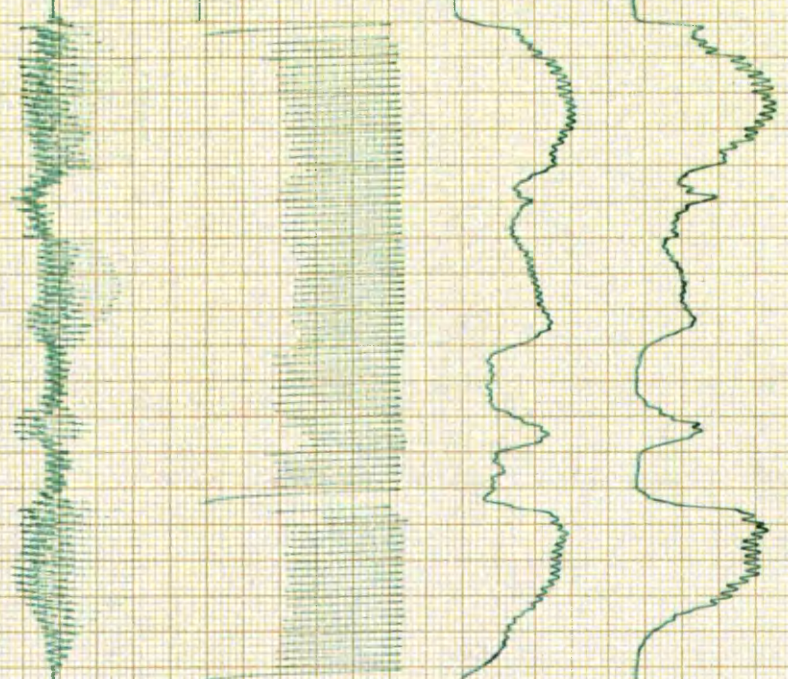
Rumex *Andry* *ya* *Sh'*

25)

Yha 20 g/day

be like some bone

(on a membrane)



ya has lower pith than
20

27)

ya 200 gida

20 has longer data line

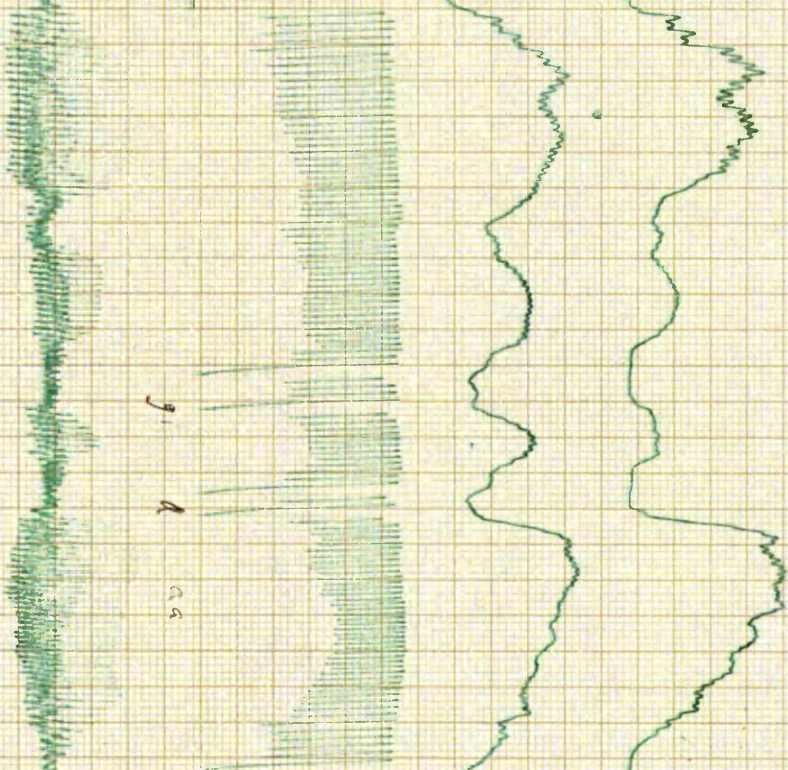


(8)
 100 20 gidaa
 100 dead with him
 after he comes home

(28)

Has re gdaa?

Has he come home?



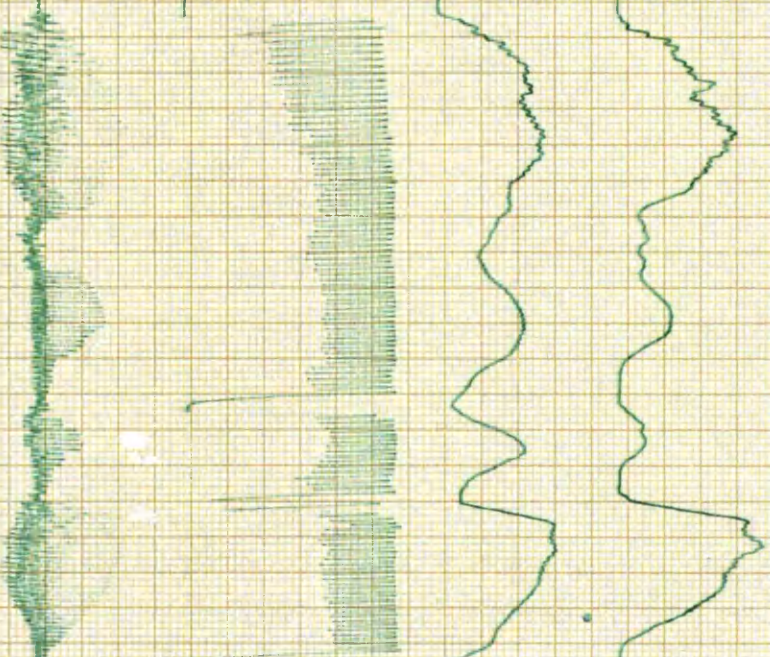
(39)

Yes 20 ydoo ?

He has some more! (that
believe it)

-ac / 9 ydoo 9 21 & 22 with
long, but 21 has longer duration than 22 & is falling

duration - 22 it is longer



APPENDIX A. Gender in Hausa: the Function of -n/-r Suffix

It is commonly assumed that the linking morpheme, -n/-r is also a marker of gender in Hausa, and that it is a contraction of na/ta ("of") in all its occurrences (see for example, Hodge 1945, Abraham 1959, Parsons 1960, 1961, Kraft and Kirk-Greene 1974, and Skinner 1975). We have ourselves used the morpheme for diagnostic purposes in chapter two of this thesis.

We should like to point out, however, that there are reasonable grounds for doubting the validity of this assumption. The use of this morpheme as an exponent of gender is actually far more restricted than is commonly supposed. In Hausa speech, it actually functions as such only when it is word-final, e.g.:

1. Baa ni kaaato-n
give me big-the
= "give me the huge one mentioned"
2. Gaa riiga-r
see gown-the
= "here is the gown in question"
3. Yaa saya-r da wando-n
he sell with trouser-the
+ Asp.
= "he has sold the pair of trousers in question"

4. An kaamà b̂araawò-n
 one catch thief-the
 = "the thief in question has been arrested"
5. Maata-r taa zoo
 woman-the she come
 = "The woman in question has come"
6. Goona-r taa yi albarkaa
 farm-the she do blessing
 +Asp.
 = "The farm in question had a good crop"

In these examples /-n/ and /-r/ are anaphoric (as discussed in 2.2); that is, they indicate that the object referred to has been mentioned before. As /-n/ regularly correlates with masculine nouns and adjectives, and /-r/ regularly correlates with feminine nouns and adjectives in these environments, the two morphemes may be said to serve as exponents of gender here.

But in other environments, namely ($N_1 + N_2$) and (Adj. + N) neither -n/-r, nor any other morpheme may reasonably be singled out as a marker of one particular gender. As the following examples clearly demonstrate, the various morphemes that are interposed in the spoken realisations of words occurring in such environments serve no purpose other than simply to link such words smoothly and naturally. For convenience the four sets of examples are given first followed by a discussion.

SET ONE

- (N₁ + N₂) a. 'ya-s sarkii taa rasu = 'the emir's daughter is
dead'
- b. tsoofuwa-s sarkii taa rasu = 'the king's mother is
dead'
- c. kwarya-n noonoo taa fashèe = 'the calabash of milk
has broken'
- d. màata? lauree cèe = 'she is a married woman'
- (Adj. + N) e. saabuwa-r riigaa cèe = 'it is a new gown'
- f. bàbba-m màcè = '(a) big/important woman'
- g. gundumeemiya-k kaaruwa = 'enormous prostitute'
- h. baka-y yaarinya-t taa zòo = 'the black girl has arrived'
- i. zungureeriya-f fara-m
mootàssa = 'his long/luxurious white car'
- (N₁ + N₂) j. màata-s sarki-n gari-n taa = 'the chief of the town's
gudu wife has absconded'
- k. màata-s sarki-m paawaa cèe = 'she is the chief butcher's
wife'
- l. dàbiia'h Hausàawaa (ta) = 'Hausamen's habits/attitudes
nàa dà ba-m maamaakii are astonishing'
- m. dà-l Laamiì = Laami's son
- n. 'ya-l Laamiì = Lami's daughter

SET TWO

- (Adj. + N) a. tsoofo-n sarkii = old king/king's father

- b. baki-n yaaròo = black boy
- c. gundùmeeme-m bàraawòo = gigantic thief
- d. saabo-m maalàmii = new teacher
- (N₁ + N₂) e. sarki-m bàakii = chief host
- f. sarki-n gidaa = chief housekeeper
- g. gida-n goonaa = farm house
- h. gida-m maataa = women's home, brothel
- i. goorò-n sallàh = festival kolanuts
- j. faadà-n Kanò = palace of (the emir of) Kano
- (N₁ + N₂..n) k. faadà-n¹ sarki-n Kanò yaa = the emir of K's palace
 zùbe has collapsed
- l (i) faadà-s sàrauniyà-z Zazzàu
 kaatoo ne ... = ... is big
- (ii) faadà-s sàrauniyà? ?ingila
 (ya) naà dà kyau = ... is beautiful
- m. "Gwamná-m baadùn yaa zoo" = the governor of Ibadan has
 come
- n. "Gwamná-l Leegàs yaa zoo" = the governor of Lagos has
 come
- o. "Gwamná? ?ilooriì yaa zoò" = the governor of Ilorin has
 come

(m-o from "Waakar Waasannin Gargaajiyaa")

by Sarkin Taushin Katsina)

SET THREE

- a. maza-n tsuntsaayèe = male birds
- b. maata-n tsuntsaayèe = female birds
- c. manya-m mutaanèe = important people
- d. gaàgàrarru-m baraayii = invincible thieves
- e. bàaki-n Kanawaa = newly-arrived Kanaawa
- f. dabiìu-n Hausaawaa = customs/habits of the Hausa
- etc.

SET FOUR

- a. "Umàr kanàa sha-n kwaramniya-d duuniyàa ..."
- = Umar, you are the victim of the world's restlessness"
- (Shata Katsina)
- b. "Umàr kanàa sha-n hayaaniya-j jama'aa..."
- = Umar you are the subject of the people's gossip" ibid.
- c. "Suu kàu Kànaawaa baa sù gani-n kankantà-s sa^qdukii Umàr"
- =Kanaawaa on their part do not consider the smallness of humble Umar (ibid)
- d. "Naa ji Kànaawaa sun gamù su-m bi" (ibid)
- =I am told that Kanaawaa have met and surrendered (to you)
- e. "Hawà-y yaa daamee ni .." (Dan Maraya)
- = "The steep hill is worrying me"
- f. "Naa gà tsiyà-t tuuri? ?amalankè"
- = I have seen the drawback of pushing a handcart (ibid)

Note that in set one various morphemes are affixed to feminine nouns or adjectives ending in /-a/. Examples (a-d) and (j-l) are genitive constructions, whilst examples (e-i) are adjectival constructions. In both cases the junction between the words in sequence is made by regressively assimilating the initial phoneme of the second word with the final phoneme of the first word if the former is consonantal (e.g. a-c, e-l), or by glottalising it if it is vocalic (e.g. d).

While it is correct to observe that this sort of juncture occurs commonly where the head noun is feminine singular, it does not mean that it is restricted to such noun heads. The examples of set two (h, l, n, o) and set four (e & f) show clearly that a similar process is operative even where the noun head is masculine singular.² We cannot therefore single out any of the linking morphemes and claim that it is necessarily connected with gender exponence.³ We cannot for example single out /-r/ as the exponent of feminine gender, and claim that all the other linkers in set one are allomorphs of this morpheme, viz:

(7) /-r/ \rightarrow s, n, ʔ, k, m, y, f, n, h, --- /

That would seem very unrealistic. Similarly we cannot reasonably claim that /-n/ is the exponent of masculine gender in sets two to four, with /m, n, y, &, l, ʔ/ as its allomorphs. To say that, is to imply that the morphemes /m, n, y, l, ʔ/ which occur in all the four sets are grammatically different. This can hardly be justified on factual or intuitive grounds. As far as we can judge all the morphemes that

participate in the linking process are grammatically empty, and generally owe their occurrence in $[\text{Adj.} + \text{N}]$ or $[\text{N}_1 + \text{N}_2]$ sequences to the phonetic environment only. There appears to be no necessary connection between the morphemes involved in the linking process and the gender (feminine or masculine) of the head noun.

Sets two and three, as well as four, also illustrate another linking process for nouns and adjectives in such environments. This too is phonetically determined, and may be expressed as a rule. It specifies that any adjective or noun that is followed by another word beginning with glottalised consonants /b, d, k/, explosive consonants /p, b, k, g, d/, or nasals /m, n/ should be linked to that word with a nasal phoneme that is homorganic with its initial consonant (cf. a-c, e-g, i-k, m (set two), a,b,d-f (set three), and a,c & d (set four) above). The rules which govern the two linking processes we have identified may be collapsed or generalised as follows:

In Hausa speech the final and initial syllables of adjectives and nouns, or nouns and nouns, in sequence must be joined together so that

$$(8) \quad [- C_1 V. (C_2) V-] \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} C_1 V^g \left(\begin{array}{c} C_2 V- \\ V- \end{array} \right) \\ C_1 V^h N C_2 V- \end{array} \right)$$

where, " \longrightarrow " = "becomes"

"g" = "geminate", and " $^h N$ " = "homorganic nasal"

The same general rule seems to apply to spoken realizations of [N + Pronoun] sequences, at least in my dialect, e.g.:

Feminine N + Pron.	Masculine N + Pron.
(9) riigaa-ta (my gown)	gidaa-na (my house)
riiga-k-kà (your(m.)...)	gida-n-kà (your house)
riiga-k-kì (your (fem.)...)	gida-n-kì (your house)
riiga-s-sà (his gown)	gida-n-sà (his house)
riiga-t-tà (her gown)	gida-n-tà (her house)
riigunà-m-mù (our ...)	gada-m-mù (our house)
riigunà-n-sù (their ...)	gida-n-sà (their house)
riigunà-ŋ-kù (your ...)	gida-n-kù (your house)
	gidàaje-m-mù (our houses)
	gidàaje-n-sù (their houses)
	gidàaje-ŋ-kù (your houses)

(cf. Carnochan 1957, sec. IV)

The words na and ta (for which /-n/ and /-r/ are supposed to be regular abbreviations) have no independent motivation in this scheme. That is, we cannot substitute na/ta for -n, -k, -s, etc. Similarly -n/-r ≠ na/ta in (10) and 11-14 sequences below:

- (10) bàaki-n kaasuwaa (≠ *baakii na kaasuwaa⁴) = market place
 gàri-n Kanò (≠ ?"gàrii na Kanò) = Kano town / city
 saabo-n yaayii (≠ *saaboo na yaayii) = new fashion
 tsoohuwa-r maataa (≠ *tsoohuwaa ta maataa) = an old lady

- (11) Zaa ni gida-n sarkii (≠ *zaa ni gidaa na sarkii) = 'I am going to the emir's house'

- (12) Naa ga karè-n Audù (≠ *Naa gà karèe na Audù)
= "I saw Audu's dog"
- (13) Àn saya-d dà saaniya-r Audù (≠ *An saya-d da saaniyaa
ta Audù)
= "Audu's cow was sold"
- (14) Inàa sha'awà-r riiga-r Audù (≠ *Inàa sha'awà-r riigaa ta
Audù)
= "I admire Audu's gown"

The unacceptability of the sequences enclosed in brackets suggests that the general assumption that -n/-r has the same grammatical function as na/ta is far from correct. The examples also provide no support for the view that -n/-r regularly occurs as an exponent of gender and as a link in ($N_1 + N_2$) and (Adj. + N) constructions. They show instead that other morphemes occur with the same regularity in those contexts and as they cannot all reasonably be said to be allomorphs of -n/-r, they must be assigned the same status as -n/-r.

Notice also that few speakers of Hausa actually use the so-called 'standard' links in everyday discourse. That is to say, few speakers say,

kwarya-r noonòo for kwarya-n noonòo (= milk bowl)

'ya-r sarkii for 'ya-s sarkii (=princess)

màata-r sarkii for màata-s sarkii (= the king's wife)

kaatuwa-r yaarinyaa for kaatuwa-y yaarinyaa (= a huge girl)
 baki-n bàraawòo for baki-m bàraawòo (= a black thief)
 maalami-n makarantaa for maalami-m makarantaa (= teacher, m.)
 maalama-r makaraataa for maalama-m makarantaa (= teacher, f.)
 etc.

when uttering them with normal conversational speed. Rather the majority of speakers prefer and more commonly use the geminate forms, and tend to regard the other forms as "book" or artificial Hausa. Yet it is the latter that is given priority in the grammars of Hausa. One consequence of this is to render much of the existing discussion of gender in Hausa artificial, and true only of the written, rather than the spoken language (see Skinner 1975).

As stated at the beginning of this discussion we consider the isolation of -n/-r as exponent of gender to be arbitrary and unhelpful. The only true exponent of gender in Hausa sentences is the verbal prefix (or pronominal copy), for whatever shape of linker is used in (N_1 - N_2) and (Adj. - N) sequences - and speakers sometimes vary in their choice of linker according to what area they come from - it is the verbal prefix that always reflects the gender of the noun subject of the sentence. That is to say, whilst speakers may vary in their usage between màata-r-sà, màata-s-sà or màata-n-sà, and between baka-r màcè, baka-m màcè, or baka-n màcè, etc., they never produce such sentences as

- (15) *màata-r-sà / màata-s-sà / màata-n-sà yaa gudù
 = 'His wife has run away'

for (16) māata-r-sà, taa gudù

(17) *[^]jaaki-n taa gudù
 = "The donkey has run away"

for (18) [^]jaaki-n yaa gudu, etc.

There seems therefore to be ^{little or} no justification for continuing to assign -n/-r the functions they are said to have in existing studies.

NOTES ON APPENDIX A

- 1) faadà ("palace") is anomalous and takes its gender from the following head noun - hence its masculine in j & k and feminine in L(i) & (ii).
- 2) See footnote (1) above on the anomalousness of faadà where gender specification is concerned.
- 3) Cf. Skinner (1975) who also notes the arbitrariness of such assumptions, and suggests that they may have come about as a result of recent attempts to standardize the orthography of the language.

- 4) I am grateful to Malam Dalhatu Muhammad, Asma'u Mohmed, and Gidado Bello for serving as my informants on this and other matters connected with this study.

PREFERENCE TESTS:TEST ONE

(TABLE 1)

<u>Battery</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Test Sentence</u>
I	1. a.	Sabùwaɸ farar rìga nakè so
	b.	Faras sabuwar rìga nakè so
	2. a.	Katùwas sabuwar rìga nakè so
	b.	Sabuwar katùwar rìga nakè so
	3. a.	*Mài kyau katùwar rìga nakè so
	b.	*Sabuwar mài kyau rìga nakè so
	4. a.	Ràwayàr katùwar rìga nakè so
	b.	Katùwar ràwayàr rìga nakè so
	5. a.	Katùwab bakar rìga nakè so
	b.	Bakar katùwar rìga nakè so
	6. a.	Ya banì jan dogon rawanì
	b.	Ya banì dogon jan rawanì
	7. a.	Ya sàyi zungùreriyàɸ faram motà
	b.	Ya sàyi faraz zungùreriyám motà
	8. a.	Ta haifi shirgegè bakin yarò
	b.	Ta haifi bakin shirgegen yarò

¹ Notice that vowel length is not marked in the following examples, because that was how they were presented to the informants. The appropriate linking morphemes are, however, indicated (see Appendix A).

<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>Group 3</u>	<u>Group 4</u>	<u>Groups 1-4</u>
(Barewa 1)	(Barewa 2)	(CAST)	(ABU)	TOTAL % BAD
n=26; age range (15-16)	n=27; age range (17-18)	n=23; age range (19-23)	n=7; age range (23-33)	(n=83)
<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>% BAD</u>	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>% BAD</u>	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>% BAD</u>	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>% BAD</u>	
19 3 4 15.38	22 3 2 7.41	19 2 2 8.69	6 0 1 14.29	10.84
15 7 4 15.38	6 3 18 66.66	2 3 18 78.2	1 1 5 71.43	54.22
11 8 7 26.92	14 6 7 25.93	12 3 8 34.78	5 1 1 14.29	27.71
10 6 10 38.46	8 5 14 51.85	4 3 16 69.56	3 1 3 42.86	51.81
5 6 15 57.69	3 2 22 81.48	1 2 20 86.95	1 1 5 71.43	74.70
2 4 20 76.92	0 3 24 88.89	1 1 21 91.3	1 1 5 71.43	84.34
8 9 9 34.61	12 3 12 44.44	7 6 10 43.47	3 1 3 42.86	40.96
14 9 3 11.54	14 8 5 18.52	12 3 8 34.78	5 1 1 14.29	20.48
18 6 2 7.69	22 2 3 11.11	18 3 2 8.69	6 - 1 14.29	9.64
12 11 3 11.54	9 12 6 22.22	6 4 13 56.52	5 - 2 28.57	28.92
15 4 7 26.92	11 7 9 33.33	8 6 9 39.13	2 4 1 14.29	31.33
18 2 6 23.08	20 3 4 14.81	13 3 7 30.43	4 - 3 42.86	24.10
19 3 4 15.38	21 1 4 14.81	21 1 1 4.35	6 1 - 0	10.84
12 11 3 11.54	11 3 13 48.15	2 3 18 78.26	1 1 5 71.43	46.99
17 4 5 19.23	18 4 5 18.52	18 0 5 21.74	6 1 - 0	18.07
9 5 12 46.15	6 4 17 62.96	5 3 15 65.22	2 1 4 57.14	57.83

APPENDIX APREFERENCE TESTS:TEST ONE

(TABLE 2)

<u>Battery</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Test Sentence</u>
II	1	Na sàyi sabuwaf farak katùwar rìgar
	2	Na sàyi faras sabuwak katùwar rìgar
	3	Na sàyi sabuwak katùwaf farar rìgar
	4	Na sàyi katùwas sabuwaf farar rìgar
	5	Na sàyi farak katùwas sabuwar rìgar
	6	Na sàyi katùwaf faras sabuwar rìgar
	7	Ga takì sabuwak katùwaf farar rìgar
	8	Ya banì wata jìbgegiya-s sabuwa-f fara-r rìga jiya
	9	Yauzu ba à yayìn jìbgà-jìbga-n sababbi-n farare-n rigunà
	10	Wadàncàn masù kòdaddù-n jajàye-n mánya-mánya-n rigunà-n, yáran sarki ne
	11	Wadàncàn masù mânia-mânia-n kodaddù-n jajàye-n rigunà-n, yáran sarki ne
	12	Yanzù ba à yayin sàbàbbi-n faràre-n jìbgà-jìbga-n rigunà kamàr dà

<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>Group 3</u>	<u>Group 4</u>	<u>Groups 1-4</u>
(Barewa 1)	(Barewa 2)	(CAST)	(ABU)	TOTAL % BAD
n=26; age range (15-16)	n=27; age range (17-18)	n=23; age range (19-23)	n=7; age range (23-33)	(n= 83)
<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>% BAD</u>	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>% BAD</u>	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>% BAD</u>	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>%BAD</u>	
10 10 6 23.08	7 3 17 62.96	6 4 13 56.52	4 1 2 28.57	45.78
13 7 6 23.08	8 5 14 51.85	3 7 13 56.52	1 2 4 57.14	44.58
11 9 6 23.08	9 7 11 40.74	9 6 8 34.78	3 1 3 42.86	33.73
12 8 6 23.08	7 9 11 40.74	13 6 4 17.38	4 1 2 28.57	27.71
8 9 9 34.61	8 5 14 51.85	4 8 11 47.82	3 - 4 57.14	45.78
9 8 9 34.61	12 6 9 33.33	11 4 8 34.78	4 - 3 42.86	34.94
10 7 9 34.61	14 2 11 40.74	5 6 12 52.17	3 1 3 42.86	42.17
23 3 0 0	26 1 0 0	19 1 3 13.04	7 0 0 0	3.61
21 2 3 11.34	22 3 2 7.41	21 1 1 4.35	7 0 0 0	7.23
18 6 2 7.69	22 1 4 14.81	16 3 4 17.39	6 0 1 14.29	13.25
15 9 2 7.69	19 3 5 51.85	15 3 5 21.74	4 3 0 0	14.46
19 5 2 7.69	21 3 3 11.11	12 6 5 21.74	7 0 0 0	12.04

PREFERENCE TESTS

TEST ONE

(TABLE 2) (continued)

<u>Battery</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Test Sentence</u>
II	13	Wadàncàn màsu jajàyen mán̄ya-mán̄ya-n kòdaddu-n rigunà-n, yá̄ra-n sarki ne
	14	Wadàncàn màsu kòdaddum mán̄ya-mán̄yan jajàye-n rigunàn, yá̄ran sarki ne

<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>Group 3</u>	<u>Group 4</u>	<u>Groups 1-4</u>
(Barewa 1)	(Barewa 2)	(CAST)	(ABU)	TOTAL % BAD
n=26; age range (15-16)	n=27; age range (17-18)	n=23; age range (19-23)	n=7; age range (23-33)	(n= 83)
<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>%</u> <u>BAD</u>	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>%</u> <u>BAD</u>	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>%</u> <u>BAD</u>	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>%</u> <u>BAD</u>	
13 7 6 23.08	14 5 8 29.63	15 5 3 13.04	3 4 0 0	20.48
17 4 5 19.23	11 3 13 48.15	13 3 7 30.43	4 1 2 28.57	32.53

PREFERENCE TESTSTEST ONE

(TABLE 3)

Battery No. Test Sentence

- | | | |
|-----|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| III | 1 | Yau na sayi wata sabuwa-b babba-f
fara-s sakakkiya-r riga |
| | 2 | Ko kana da sabuwa-b babba-s
sakakkiya-f fara-r riga ta sayarwa |
| | 3 | Ina son wadattacciya-s sabuwa-b babba-f
fara-r riga na sayarwa |
| | 4 | Ka nema mani fara-s sabuwa-s
sakakkiya-b babba-r riga inaso in sayarwa |

<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>Group 3</u>	<u>Group 4</u>	<u>Groups 1-4</u>
(Barewa 1)	(Barewa 2)	(CAST)	(ABU)	TOTAL % BAD
n=26; age range <u>(15-16)</u>	n=27; age range <u>(17-18)</u>	n=23; age range <u>(19-23)</u>	n=7; age range <u>(23-33)</u>	<u>(n = 83)</u>
<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>%</u> BAD	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>%</u> BAD	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>%</u> BAD	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>%</u> BAD	
18 6 1 3.85	17 3 7 25.93	11 3 9 39.13	5 0 2 28.57	22.89
24 1 1 3.85	22 2 3 11.11 _c	16 1 6 26.08	5 0 2 28.57	14.46
1 8 6 23.08	17 0 10 37.03	6 8 9 39.13	4 1 2 28.57	32.53
12 8 6 23.08	18 3 6 22.22	12 2 9 39.13 _·	2 2 3 42.86	28.92

PREFERENCE TESTSTEST TWO

(TABLE 4)

<u>Battery</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Test Sentence</u>
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- | | | |
|---|-------|-----------------------------------------|
| I | 1. a. | Ya banì rìga sabuwa, fara |
| | b. | Ya banì rìga fara, sabuwa |
| | 2. a. | Ya banì rìga katuwa, sabuwa |
| | b. | Ya banì rìga sabuwa, katuwa |
| | 3. a. | Ya banì rìga baka, jibgegiya |
| | b. | Ya banì rìga jibgegiya, baka |
| | 4. a. | Ya banì rawani ja, dogo |
| | b. | Ya banì rawani dogo, ja |
| | 5. a. | Ya sàyi motà fara, zungùrerìya |
| | b. | Ya sàyi motà zungùrerìya, fara |
| | 6. a. | Ya banì doki yarò, òan Azbèn |
| | b. | Ya banì doki òan Azbèn, yarò |
| | 7. a. | Ya banì doki akawàl, màì gudùn tsiya |
| | b. | Ya banì doki màì gudùn tsiya, akawàl |
| | 8. a. | Inà son rìga fara, bàbba, sabuwa ful |
| | b. | Inà son rìga bàbba, sabuwa, fara fat |
| | c. | Inà son rìga sabuwa, fara, bàbba dà ità |
| | 9. a. | Ya banì rìga sabuwa, fara, bàbba dà ità |
| | b. | Ya banì rìga bàbba, sabuwa, kumà fara |

<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>Group 3</u>	<u>Group 4</u>	<u>Groups 1-4</u>
(Barewa 1)	(Barewa 2)	(CAST)	(ABU)	TOTAL % BAD
n=26; age range (15-16)	n=27; age range (17-18)	n=23; age range (19-23)	n=7; age range (23-33)	(n = 83)
<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>% 'BAD'</u>	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>% 'BAD'</u>	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>% 'BAD'</u>	<u>✓</u> <u>?</u> <u>X</u> <u>% 'BAD'</u>	
14 5 7 26.92	18 3 6 22.22	5 4 14 69.56	4 0 2 42.86	36.14
21 3 2 7.69	22 5 3 11.11	13 5 5 21.74	6 1 0 0	12.04
20 1 5 19.23	14 3 9 33.33	7 4 12 52.17	4 0 3 42.86	34.94
14 7 5 19.23	16 3 8 29.63	9 3 11 47.82	6 0 1 14.29	30.12
21 2 3 11.54	23 1 3 11.11	19 2 2 8.69	5 0 2 28.57	12.04
22 2 2 7.69	21 3 3 11.11	10 4 9 39.13	6 0 1 14.29	18.07
17 3 6 23.08	14 1 12 44.44	15 1 7 30.43	4 1 2 28.57	32.53
17 6 3 11.54	22 2 3 11.11	10 4 9 39.13	6 1 0 0	18.07
19 2 5 19.23	23 1 3 11.11	17 3 3 13.04	6 0 1 14.29	14.46
18 6 2 7.69	19 2 6 22.22	13 1 9 39.13	6 0 1 14.29	21.69
15 7 4 15.38	23 0 4 14.81	20 1 2 8.69	7 0 0 0	12.04
14 6 6 23.08	8 5 14 51.85	4 3 16 69.56	4 1 2 28.57	45.78
25 1 0 0	27 0 0 0	23 - - 0	7 - - 0	0
9 7 10 38.46	9 3 15 55.55	5 2 16 69.56	5 - 2 28.57	51.81
19 2 5 19.23	24 1 2 7.41	18 2 3 13.04	7 - - 0	12.04
20 6 0 0	23 0 4 14.81	19 2 2 8.69	7 - - 0	7.23
10 3 13 50.00	8 4 15 55.55	2 1 20 86.95	6 1 - 0	57.83
13 9 4 15.38	14 2 11 40.74	8 2 13 56.92	3 1 3 42.86	37.35
23 3 0 0	25 1 1 3.70	18 - 5 21.74	7 - - 0	7.23

APPENDIX APREFERENCE TESTSTEST TWO

(TABLE 5)

<u>Battery</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Test Sentence</u>
II	1	Na sàyi rìga sabuwa, fara, ta leshi, bàbba
	2	Na sàyi rìga babba, fara, sabuwa, ta leshi
	3	Na sàyi rìga ta leshi, sabuwa, bàbba, fara
	4	Na sàyi rìga fara, ta leshi, bàbba, sabuwa
	5	Na sàyi rìga fara, sabuwa, bàbba, ta leshi

(TABLE 6)

III	1 (15)	Na sàyi rìga fara, sabuwa, bàbba, màikyaù, wandà akà sarò da Makkà barà
	2 (17)	Na sàyi rìga fara, sabuwa, bàbba, mài tsadàn tsiyà, wandà duk bà irintà à garin
	3 (19)	Na sàyi rìga fara, sabuwa, bàbba, ta leshi, wandà tafi karfi na
	4 (22)	Na sàyi rìga fara, sabuwa, bàbba, ta leshi, mài aiki, wandà akà yi à Kanò barà

(TABLE 7)

IV	1	Bani waccàn katùwas sabuwab bakas sàkakkīyar rìgar
	2	Bani waccàn bakas sabuwak katùwas sàkakkīyar rìgar
	3	Bani waccàn sabuwak katùwab bakas sàkakkīyar rìgar
	4	Bani waccàn sàkakkīyak katùwas sabuwab bakar rìgar

<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>Group 3</u>	<u>Group 4</u>	<u>Groups 1-4</u>
(Barewa 1)	(Barewa 2)	(CAST)	(ABU)	TOTAL % 'BAD'
<u>n=26; age range</u> <u>(15-16)</u>	<u>n=27; age range</u> <u>(17-18)</u>	<u>n=23; age range</u> <u>(19-23)</u>	<u>n=7; age range</u> <u>(23-33)</u>	<u>(n = 83)</u>
<u>✓ ? X % 'BAD'</u>	<u>✓ ? X % 'BAD'</u>	<u>✓ ? X % 'BAD'</u>	<u>✓ ? X % 'BAD'</u>	
14 4 8 30.77	11 2 14 51.85	9 4 10 43.47	6 - 1 14.29	39.76
18 6 2 7.69	20 3 4 14.81	19 1 3 13.04	6 - 1 14.29	12.04
13 6 7 26.92	6 7 14 51.85	5 5 13 56.52	3 2 2 28.57	43.37
11 6 9 34.61	7 4 16 59.26	6 1 16 69.56	5 - 2 28.57	51.81
20 5 1 3.85	15 3 9 33.33	16 2 5 21.74	6 - 1 14.29	19.28
21 4 1 3.85	21 1 5 18.52	17 1 5 21.74	7 - - 0	13.25
20 3 3 11.54	22 2 3 11.11	17 1 5 21.74	7 - - 0	13.25
18 4 4 15.38	21. 3 3 11.11	12 3 8 34.78	6 1 - 0	18.07
18 5 3 11.54	14 3 10 37.03	16 - 7 30.43	6 - 1 14.29	25.30
21 5 0 0	14 3 10 37.03	15 2 6 26.08	7 - - 0	19.28
5 7 14 53.85	5 5 17 62.96	5 4 14 60.86	5 - 2 28.57	56.63
8 9 8 30.77	10 5 12 22.22	7 6 10 43.48	5 1 1 14.29	37.35
15 3 8 30.77	12 7 8 29.63	11 2 10 43.48	5 - 2 28.57	33.73

PREFERNECE TESTSTEST THREE

(TABLE 8)

<u>Battery</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Test Sentence</u>
I	1. a.	Ya sàyi farar rìga sabuwa
	b.	Ya sàyi sabuwar rìga fara
	2. a.	Ya sàyi katùwar rìga sabuwa
	b.	Ya sàyi sabuwar rìga katuwa
	3. a.	Ya sàyi jan rawanì dogo
	b.	Ya sàyi dogon rawanì ja
	4. a.	Ya sàyi bakam motà zungùrerìya
	b.	Ya sàyi zungùrerìyam motà baka
	5. a.	Ya sàyi yaròn doki dan Azbèn
	b.	Ya sàyi dan Azbèn doki yarò
	6. a.	Ya sàyi sàkakkìyar rìga baka
	b.	Ya sàyi bakar rìga sàkakkìya

<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>Group 3</u>	<u>Group 4</u>	<u>Groups 1-4</u>
(Barewa 1)	(Barewa 2)	(CAST)	(ABU)	TOTAL % 'BAD'
<u>n=26; age range</u> <u>(15-16)</u>	<u>n=27; age range</u> <u>(17-18)</u>	<u>n=23; age range</u> <u>(19-23)</u>	<u>n=7; age range</u> <u>(23-33)</u>	<u>(n = 83)</u>
<u>✓ ? X % 'BAD'</u>	<u>✓ ? X % 'BAD'</u>	<u>✓ ? X % 'BAD'</u>	<u>✓ ? X % 'BAD'</u>	
24 1 1 3.85	20 3 4 14.81	19 3 1 4.35	6 1 - 0	7.23
25 0 1 3.85	26 1 0 0	17 3 3 13.04	6 1 - 0	4.82
19 5 2 7.69	18 2 7 25.93	14 5 4 17.39	7 - - 0	15.66
20 4 2 7.69	24 0 4 11.11	16 3 4 17.39	6 - 1 14.29	13.25
20 4 2 7.69	15 2 10 37.03	16 2 5 21.74	6 - 1 14.29	21.69
20 3 3 11.54	22 3 2 7.41	16 4 3 13.04	6 - 1 14.29	10.84
19 2 5 19.23	24 1 2 7.41	21 1 1 4.35	7 - - 0	9.64
24 2 0 0	16 5 6 22.22	17 1 5 21.74	6 - 1 14.29	14.46
23 2 1 3.85	24 0 3 11.11	21 2 - 0	7 - - 0	4.82
5 5 16 61.54	1 3 23 85.18	22 - 1 4.35	- 2 5 71.43	54.22
20 4 2 7.69	21 1 5 51.85	17 3 3 13.04	6 - 1 14.29	13.25
22 3 1 3.85	25 1 1 3.70	18 3 2 8.69	7 - - 0	4.82

SIMILARITY TEST: FOUR

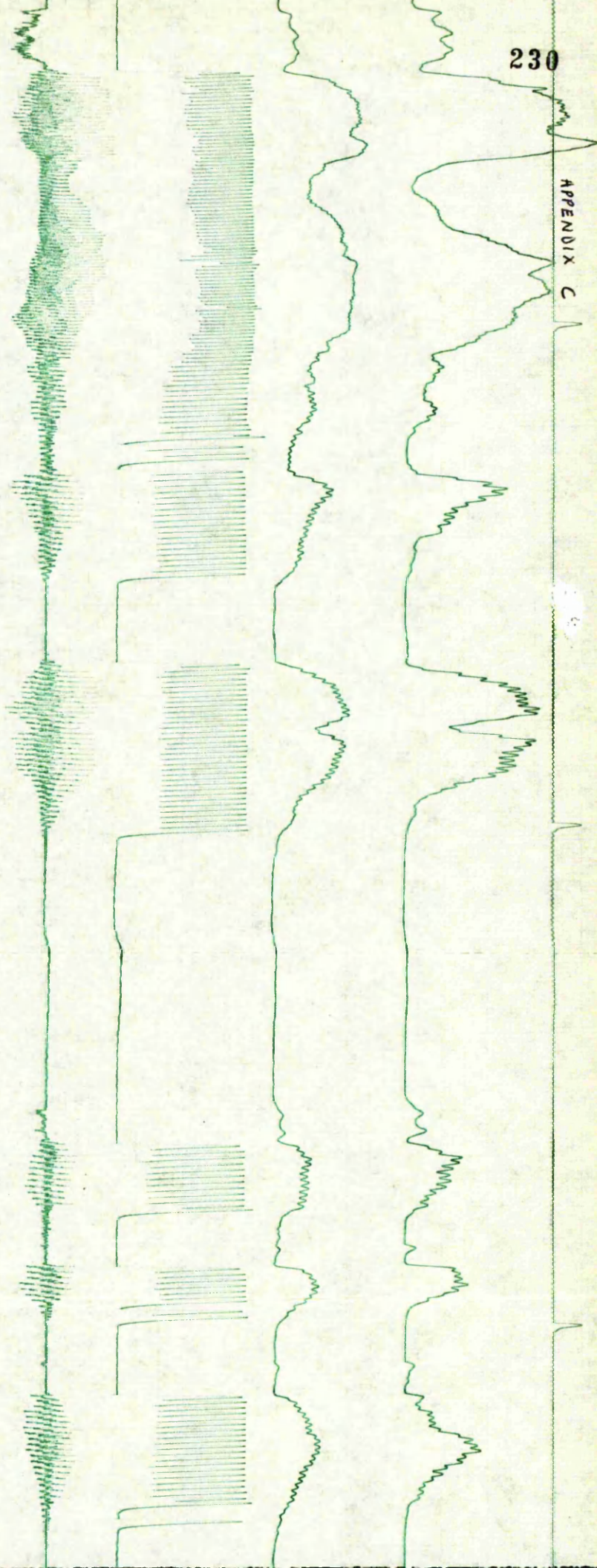
Battery	No.	Test Sentence	(TABLE 9)
I	1	{ Ya banì wani farin dokì Ya banì wani dokì fari	
	2	{ Ya banì wani katon farin dokì Ya banì wani farin katon dokì	
	3	{ Ya banì katon farin yaròn dokì ?Ya banì yaròn katon farin dokì	
	4	{ Ya banì wani katon dokì, fari fat Ya banì wani farin dokì, katoto dà shi	
	5	{ Ya banì katon farin dokì, yarò ?Ya banì farin yaròn dokì, kato	
	6	{ Ya banì katon dokì fari, yarò Ya banì yaròn dokì fari, kato	
	7	{ Na sàyi farin dokì, kato, yarò, maì kuzàri, òan Azbèn ?Na sàyi farin dokì, yarò, maì kuzàri, kato, òan Azbèn	
	8	{ Ya aurì kyàkkyawar yarìnyà Ya aurì yarìnyà kyàkkyawa	
	9	{ Ya aurì yarìnyà waddà ta kè kyàkkyawa Ya aurì yarìnyà maìkyau	
	10	{ Yàu na gà yarò dà tsòro Yàu na gà yarò maì tsòro	
	11	{ Yàu na gà yarò dà tsòro Yàu na gà matsòràcin yarò	
	12	{ Kai dai yarò nè makàryàci Kai dai yarò nè maì karyan tsiyà	
	13	{ Na gà munafulìn yaròn nan Na gà yaròn nan munafulì	

<u>n = 26</u>				<u>n = 27</u>				<u>n = 23</u>				<u>n = 7</u>				Total
<u>✓</u>	<u>?</u>	<u>≠</u>	<u>'Equals'</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>?</u>	<u>≠</u>	<u>'Equals'</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>?</u>	<u>≠</u>	<u>'Equals'</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>?</u>	<u>≠</u>	<u>'Equals'</u>	<u>'Equals'</u> (n= 83)
26	-	-	100	24	2	1	88.88	21	1	1	91.30	6	1	-	85.71	92.77
15	9	2	57.69	14	7	6	51.85	16	3	4	69.57	4	1	2	57.14	59.04
2	7	17	7.69	1	11	15	3.70	3	7	13	13.04	2	3	2	28.57	9.64
2	12	12	7.69	12	5	10	44.44	5	6	12	21.74	2	3	2	28.57	25.30
11	7	8	42.31	13	6	8	48.15	17	3	3	73.91	4	1	2	57.14	54.22
12	3	11	46.15	14	7	6	51.85	11	5	7	47.83	5	1	1	71.43	50.60
20	5	1	76.92	18	6	3	66.66	19	-	4	82.61	5	2	-	71.43	74.70
25	-	1	96.15	26	0	1	96.30	21	-	2	91.30	6	1	-	85.71	93.98
13	11	2	50	17	9	1	62.96	7	9	7	30.43	4	3	-	57.14	46.99
12	8	6	46.15	16	5	6	59.26	8	4	11	34.78	3	3	1	42.86	46.99
22	2	2	84.62	23	3	1	85.19	15	4	4	65.22	4	2	1	57.14	77.11
12	11	3	46.15	14	5	8	51.85	11	6	6	47.83	4	2	1	57.14	49.40
19	4	3	73.08	22	1	4	81.48	16	1	6	69.57	6	-	1	85.71	75.90

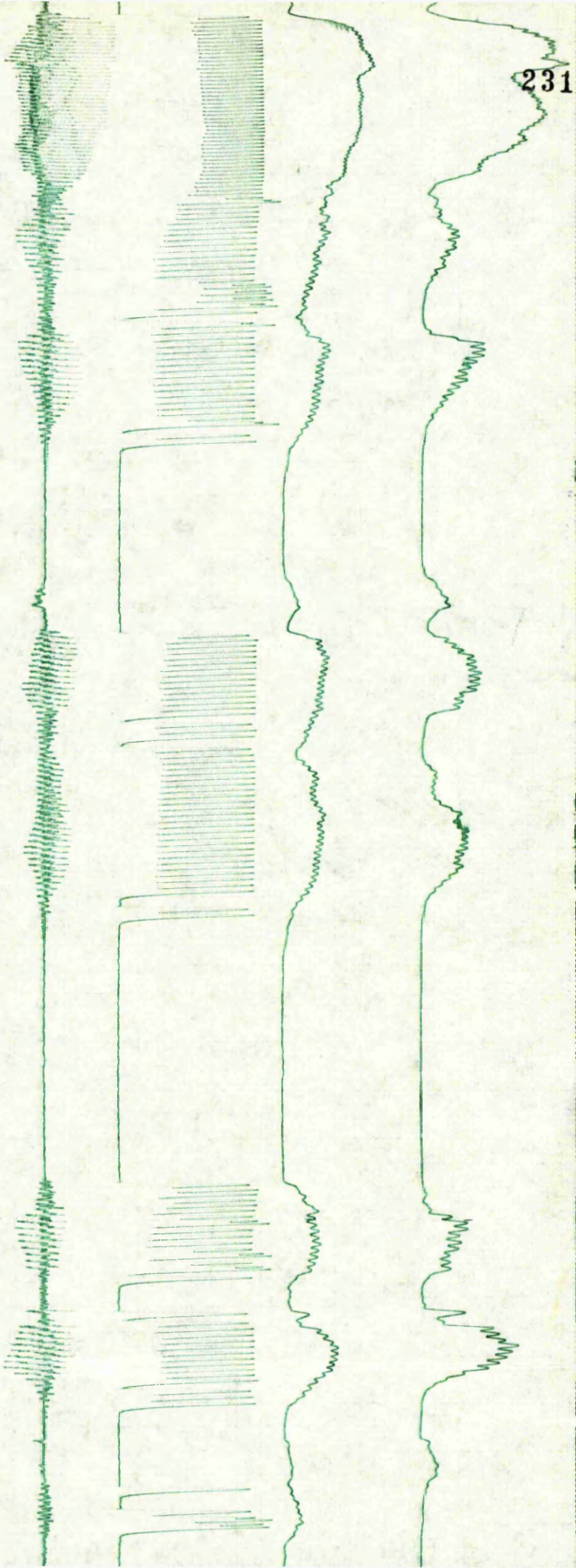
SIMILARITY TEST: FOUR (continued)Battery No. Test Sentence (TABLE 9)

- | | | |
|---|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I | 14 | { Yâran gidana nà kirkì ne ainùn
Yâran gidana masu kirkì ne ainùn |
| | 15 | { Ba na sòn yàgaggiyar rìga
Ba na sòn rìga yàgaggiya |
| | 16 | { Ya haka rijiya mai zurfi
Ya haka rijiya zuzzurfa |

<u>n = 26</u>				<u>n = 27</u>				<u>n = 23</u>				<u>n = 7</u>				Total
✓	?	≠	% 'Equals'	✓	?	≠	% 'Equals'	✓	?	≠	% 'Equals'	✓	?	≠	% 'Equals'	'Equals' (n = 83)
21	4	1	80.71	22	4	1	81.48	18	3	2	78.26	5	2	-	71.43	75.90
21	4	1	80.77	24	3	0	88.88	16	3	4	69.57	6	1	-	85.71	80.72
15	8	3	57.69	18	5	4	66.66	18	1	4	78.26	5	1	1	71.43	67.47



(25) 'saabwa - r ni'ga, fa'raa, sa'kaliciya



(2b) fara-r nĩga, saabuaa, wai aikii

APPENDIX DHAUSA NUMERAL SYSTEM

The numerals fall into two classes: (1) cardinals and (2) ordinals

1. Cardinal numbers:

ɗaya	(1)	(goomà) shâa ɗaya	(11)
biyu	(2)	(goomà) shâa biyu	(12)
uku	(3)	(goomà) shâa uku	(13)
hufu	(4)	(goomà) shâa hufu	(14)
bìyar	(5)	(goomà) shâa bìyar	(15)
shidà	(6)	(goomà) shâa shidà	(16)
bakwài	(7)	(goomà) shâa bakwài	(17)
takwàs	(8)	(goomà) shâa takwàs	(18)
tarà	(9)	(goomà) shâa tarà	(19)
goomà	(10)	àshirin	(20)
talàatin	(30)	ɗàrii biyu	(200)
àrbà'in	(40)	ɗàrii uku	(300)
hamsin	(50)	ɗàrii hufu	(400)
sittin	(60)	ɗàrii bìyar	(500)
sàbà'in	(70)	ɗàrii tarà	(900)
càsà'in	(90)	dubuu/alif	(1,000)
ɗàrii	(100)	dubuu shidà	(6,000)
		dubuu ɗàrii	(100,000)
		milyan	(1,000,000)
		bilyan	(1,000,000,000)

All numbers above ashirin employ da, instead of shâa to form compound numerals, e.g.:

àshìrin da ḍaya(21) ḍàrii bakwàì da goomà shâa biyu (712)

hamsin da huḍu (54)

alif da ḍàrii tarà da sàbà'in da bakwàì (1977)

etc. etc.

2. Ordinal numbers are compounds formed by prefixing na/ta to the appropriate cardinal number, and according to the gender of the head noun to be modified:

(farkòo na (ḍaya	(first, masc.) v. ta	(faariì (ḍaya	(first, fem.)
na biyu	(second ") v. ta	biyu	(second, ")
na uku	(third ") v. ta	uku	(third, ")
na tarà	(ninth ") v. ta	tarà	(ninth, ")
na àrbàin	(fortieth ") v. ta	àrbàin	(fortieth ")
na ḍàrii da bìyar (145th, ")	v. ta ḍàrii da bìyar (145th, ")		
na dubuu da goomà	v. ta dubuu da goomà		
shâa biyu (1012th, ")	shâa biyu (1012th, ")		
etc.	etc.		

Note that the cardinals, but not ordinals, may be reduplicated to mean

"N each" or "a piece", e.g.:

Baa nì dai dai (= ḍaya ḍaya) = "give me one at a time"

Yaa baa sù (bìyar-bìyar = "he gave them five/nine pieces each"
(tara-tara

etc.

Cf. *na biyu-na biyu

or *na biyu-biyu

Note also that the quantifier iri ("kind") can be reduplicated to

form iri-iri ("different kinds"), but this form is confined to post-position, e.g. waasannii iri-iri (different kinds of games), but not *iri-irin waasannii.

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